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INTRODUCTION.

THE influence of the Fine Arts has been felt and acknowledged by all classes and conditions of men, in all ages and in all countries. Nations have acquired more renown by their attainments in those arts, than by all of which they had to boast besides, in conquest or in wealth. Poetry, painting, and sculpture, outlive the records of human greatness, and, when every other vestige is effaced by time, remain imperishable monuments of national grandeur. For this reason they have been always encouraged by great civilized states, and more particularly cultivated and rewarded by those individuals who have rendered themselves illustrious by exalted genius, refined taste, and profound erudition. At the same time, they possess an inherent charm which engages the affections of the most barbarous and unenlightened, and never fail to captivate all, from whose minds the perception of their beauties is not excluded by a total privation of the organs of sense.

These considerations might, at the first view, seem to warrant the proprietor of the Repository in the most sanguine hopes he could reasonably entertain of a general approbation of his

plan, and, consequently, of a very numerous subscription: yet, aware that the most trivial obstruction frequently swells into an insuperable obstacle—that where the mind pauses in a state of doubt, without any positive motive to decision, the slightest circumstance will determine it either to one side or the other; and that there are not wanting those who lie in wait for the purpose of systematically opposing the advancement of the ornamental arts, he deems it expedient to expatiate at some length on that interesting subject.

If the devotees of luxury, pomp, and extravagance, have carried the passion for these things to a pernicious excess, another sort of persons, whose sincerity we do not mean to question, run into the opposite extreme. Both are wrong; and the editor feels that his claims to patronage would be undeserving of countenance, if, while he protested against the one, he did not disclaim all alliance with the other.

It has been imagined by some, that a fondness for the fine arts is the mere creature of civilized society, produced by the efforts of human invention, overstraining itself to enlarge the sphere of voluptuous indulgence; but a man of ordinary discernment will not have occasion to read or reflect much in order to his being convinced that this is a mistake. The sordid call the ornamental arts frivolous, because they bring no usance; and mischievous, as the indulgence in them tends to diminish the accumulations of avarice: but, true to itself, man's nature is generally

After hall.

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superior to the strongest operations of a factitious feeling ; and the habitation of the most mercenary will be found bearing its tribute, though penurious, to the natural passion of the whole human race.

Others there are, who, actuated by a very different feeling, renounce every thing whose sole tendency is to embellish life, or to please the fancy. In their catalogue of worldly comforts, nothing finds a place that is not necessary to the sustentation of animal existence. Beyond this, whatever contributes merely to the pleasure, or to the refinement of life, is condemned as useless prodigality, or criminal excess. The productions of the fine arts are denounced as, at best, the useless superinductions of a fastidious taste—the trappings of folly, if not of vice, which have nothing to do with the nature of man, because they are not necessary to his physical maintenance. But against doctrine so degrading, man has, from his first creation, practically revolted ; for scarcely has he advanced a step beyond the guidance of mere instinct—scarcely has he acquired an obscure knowledge of the means necessary to bodily support, when he shows that he has implanted in him, the first rudiments of the imitative arts. Men, actuated by mistaken prejudices of this kind, would, if they were not convinced of their errors, reduce their race below its proper dignity. But of such restrictions man becomes justly impatient, proclaims that he has appetites of a higher nature—that he possesses affections, passions, and powers of imagination, which, no

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less imperiously than hunger, thirst, or the sense of heat and cold, demand to be provided for—and that he has other capacities, besides the refection of the body, for fulfilling the desires, and perfecting the nature of his species.

Who is he that has ever read a transaction in history, without etching out, in his fancy, portraits of the persons concerned? Is there any one of an imagination so dull as not to feel pleasure in surveying the likenesses of those persons who have recommended themselves, by their actions or their writings, to the esteem and applause of mankind?

This is not only a reasonable curiosity, but seems so intimately interwoven in our nature, as to supersede some of our inveterate prejudices. Can we witness the avidity with which the greatest men treasure up pictures, or the vast expense at which they purchase old coins, medals, busts and medallions, containing likenesses of the illustrious personages of antiquity, without being convinced of the importance of transmitting to posterity, in a shape so respectable as to ensure permanent care, the portraits of those individuals to whom we owe all that we possess, worthy of being noticed by after-ages?

That these propensities deserve to be cherished, and their impulses to be obeyed, it is our duty to infer, from the universality with which they have pervaded the human race. He who never heard of paint on canvass, inscribes upon the shell of a fish an uncouth resemblance of the object of his reverence or his love.

A rude pyramid of stone—a huge mound of earth—a mis-shapen tomb—with an oral narrative, transmitted by hereditary piety, have served to inform the unlettered savage of the debt he owed to the hero or the legislator, whose dust ages have given to the winds. It was in memorials of this sort, that the earliest benefactors of their countries—the luminaries of their day—lived for centuries beyond the period of their physical existence, and made salutary impressions upon succeeding generations. The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians—the picture-writing which, on the first discovery of America, the Spaniards found with the Mexicans—and a variety of things of a corresponding character found by circumnavigators in newly discovered countries, abundantly prove the universality of this disposition. Can it indeed be thought wonderful, that an art should be passionately loved by all mankind, which, at a single glance, presents to the untutored mind, that of which the scholar can obtain but an obscure view by the process of reading and reflection—which brings the most distant objects close to our eyes, and enables us, when removed to distant parts of the earth, to keep company with those we love and venerate?

But, in order to bring the matter nearer home to our bosoms, let us recur to well known facts, and consider the effect of pictures in books. A history of England sluggishly crawls through two or three editions in the space of several years, and is read only by men of letters. An enterprising bookseller publishes it with

portraits, and in one year the circulation of it is increased tenfold; it gets into the hands of the people at large—many who never thought of such a thing become historians, ardently interested in the subject, in consequence of their obtaining that sort of personal acquaintance with the characters. With what enthusiasm have not the lovers of poetry dwelt upon the portraits transmitted as resemblances of Shakspeare?—and what words can express the mortification that followed Mr. Malone's officious discovery, that there never had been a likeness taken of that glory of his country; and that consequently the portraits which had afforded so much satisfaction were spurious, and mere impositions on public credulity?

Why is a mean town in the south of France (Pau) visited and viewed with enthusiastic reverence by travellers from all parts of Europe? Why, because it contains the cradle of Henry the Fourth, justly surnamed the "Great," who, having performed a thousand exploits, any one of them sufficient to confer immortality on his name, raised himself a whole region higher by one "sentiment of homely benevolence." "I hope to see the day," said he, "when every peasant in France will be able to put a pullet in his pot!"

It is on natural principles of this kind that the statue of Howard is constantly visited by strangers, and will hereafter receive the homage of nations, among whom the language of his country is not known. It is on these principles, also, that the portraits of

that glorious band of patriots, heroes, and sages, who gave America to the realms of freedom, will not only be viewed with pleasure by enlightened men in all countries, but to the most remote ages be contemplated with pride and transport by the grateful citizens of this republic, as models by which to shape their conduct, and as examples whom it will be their glory to emulate.

A series of portraits, therefore, acknowledged to be perfect resemblances of the leading worthies of our country—an historic-gallery as it were—done in a style calculated to ensure transmission to posterity, must be considered, by every man deserving the name of an American, as a national work of great value. In order to its being duly appreciated, let us imagine a case, in which the want of such a memorial had been long deplored, and by some unaccountable accident supplied. If, by an event, which would indeed be miraculous, a genuine authentic portrait were discovered of that father of his country, with whom alone it would not injure our Washington to be compared—Alfred the Great, what would be the joy of the whole civilized world? What potentate could afford to purchase it?—The revenue of a nation would not be its ransom! Let us be thankful, then, that our Washington, and his illustrious associates and followers, have lived in better times—and that this republic arose at a period, when the advanced state of science and of the arts has enabled its sons to rescue from oblivion every lineament of its benefactors, and,

along with their deeds, to consecrate their features to endless commemoration.

But as a permanent monument, what would avail personal portraits alone? Even to the most skilful physiognomist, the face of a human being can reveal nothing more than a generalized outline of his prevailing disposition—an obscure intimation of the predominant passions of his heart. For the purposes to which this national work is directed, something more is requisite: the moral being must be described as well as the physical—and the personal portrait be accompanied with a characteristic biographical sketch of the man intended to be commemorated. Neither can be perfectly satisfactory by itself—the union of them only leaves nothing to be wished for. As an example of the value of such a combination, lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion stands conspicuous. To the illustration and embellishment of the best historical portraits of character that have been written, perhaps in any age or language, every aid was brought that could be borrowed from the works of the best artists—the consequence was, that the readers of that work are as deeply impressed with the personal images as well as characters of the men who figured in the rebellion, as if they had enjoyed daily familiar intercourse with them, and that no one portion of the history of England has been so well understood by the majority of readers as that of the commonwealth.

Though national pride in some respects runs high in the

United States, few seem to be aware of the unexampled magnitude of that space which this country is destined to fill in the eyes of posterity. Not only because the discovery of this quarter of the globe gave a new aspect to the whole civilized world, but because our revolution forms a cardinal era in the progressive condition of man, this republic must present to after ages one of the grandest spectacles in the history of the world. A variety of circumstances, which it is easier to conceive than to describe, prevent us from judging of the mighty birth which time is to bring forth. It is then that the history of our times will be interesting:—let us do all we can to render it satisfactory, by so filling up our annals as to leave nothing to conjecture. The work here proposed is intended to go a great way towards effecting that object. If relinquished now, it can scarcely be accomplished hereafter. Men living at this day have it in their power to ascertain, from personal knowledge, the truth of the characters, and the fidelity of the various resemblances it is intended to contain; but nature must, in her ordinary course, soon lay them in the dust, and deprive posterity, if the present effort were neglected, of the satisfaction arising from their evidence.

Dr. Johnson says, “No species of writing seems more worthy of cultivation than biography, since none can be more delightful or more useful, none more certainly enchains the heart by irresistible interest, or more widely diffuses instruction to every diversity of condition.” And again :—“There has, perhaps, scarcely pass-

ed a life, of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful. For not only every man has, in the mighty mass of the world, great numbers in the same condition with himself, to whom his mistakes and miscarriages, escapes and expedients, would be of immediate and apparent use; but there is such an uniformity in the state of man, considered apart from adventitious and separable decorations and disguises, that there is scarce any possibility of good or ill but is common to human kind." The patriotic spirit of the nation will, therefore, unquestionably lend its aid to the support of a scheme of biography, which takes its materials exclusively from the first and best fruits of our country; and which addresses itself at once to the judgment and the imagination—to the eye, the heart, and the understanding. To entertain a doubt of it, would be to undervalue the American people—to express such a doubt, would be to libel them.

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PEYTON RANDOLPH.

LIFE OF PEYTON RANDOLPH.

ALTHOUGH the name of **PEYTON RANDOLPH** is sufficiently familiar to his countrymen, by whom his merits and claims as a patriot are never denied, yet their acquaintance with him, hitherto, seems generally to have been limited to the short term in which he presided in the first American Congress. Why the public curiosity has never yet been gratified by any thing like a detailed account of his life, cannot be very satisfactorily explained.

The task is not without difficulty, to collect, at this day, many interesting particulars concerning an individual who was already advanced in years, when the few sages who still survive, were yet in their youth. The writer of this article knows of but one now alive, from whose recollections there could be derived what would increase, materially, our knowledge on the subject. It is to this distinguished person, the friend of Mr. Randolph, and his colleague in the assembly of their native province, and, subsequently, in the national legislature, that the public are indebted for most of the facts which are recorded in the following narrative, and for almost the entire view of his private life and character.

Peyton Randolph, descended from one of the most ancient and respectable families in Virginia, was the eldest son of Sir John Randolph, a gentleman

admired for his virtues and his talents, and, under the colonial government, a practitioner of great celebrity at the bar of the general court of that province. Under the care and direction of such a parent, the mind of young Randolph could scarcely fail to receive all the cultivation of which it was found susceptible. He passed through the college of William and Mary with credit; and, being intended for the same liberal profession which his father had pursued with so much reputation, was sent to England, in order to complete his legal studies at the temple.

On his return to Virginia, he entered, at once, into practice in the general court; and, at the same time, that he commenced his professional career prosperously, he assured his domestic happiness by an union with Miss Elizabeth Harrison, the amiable sister of Mr. Benjamin Harrison, afterwards governor of Virginia.

That Mr. Randolph's talents were soon perceived and called into public use, we find conclusive evidence in the records of Virginia; for as early as the year 1748, when he could not have been more than twenty-five years of age, he was the king's attorney general for the colony. He was the same year, elected a member for the city of Williamsburg, in the house of burgesses; and, during the session of that year, was placed at the head of a committee appointed to prepare a general revisal of the laws of the colony.

From this period, he continued to be a conspicuous and useful member of the legislature; and soon after the arrival in the colony of Mr. Dinwiddie as lieutenant governor, in the year 1752, was honoured by that body with a most delicate and important trust. Among the exactions which the governor had introduced, was an exorbitant charge for his signature to every patent for land. As this was made without the sanction of any law, the house of burgesses, as the guardians of the people's rights, felt themselves compelled

to remonstrate against it in form, and Peyton Randolph was chosen to oppose it before the king and council. He accordingly repaired to England as their agent, but, notwithstanding the justness of his suit, urged and enforced by his superior abilities, the interest of the governor, as usual, prevailed over that of the colony, and the new exaction was confirmed by the king.

But Mr. Randolph's exertions in the service of his country, were not always confined to the civil department; for we find him, at least, on one occasion, her voluntary defender in arms. And if his short career in the field is marked by no extraordinary military achievement, that circumstance cannot lessen the value of the patriotism that led him thither, which, indeed, it is difficult properly to appreciate, without a recurrence to the peculiar situation of the colony at that period.

After the defeat of general Braddock on the Monongahela, in July 1755, the broken remains of his force, fell back upon the reserve under colonel Dunbar, and that officer conducted the whole of the regular troops to quarters in Philadelphia, at the mere suggestion, it would seem, of governor Shirley, who, to use his own words, "thought it would be more for his majesty's service to employ the troops in another way, as those provinces were populous enough to protect themselves." The immediate consequence of this step was, that the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were laid completely open to the inroads of the savage enemy; and before colonial troops could be raised and despatched to their relief, that the back settlements had been ravaged by parties of Indians, who were suffered unmolested, and at their leisure, to recross the Alleghany mountains. But they retired only to re-appear in the ensuing spring with the thirst for blood and spoil increased by their former triumphs. Their incursions now spread

terror and dismay through the whole country. Colonel Washington who had been appointed to the command of all the troops to be employed in the defence of Virginia, had found it impossible to complete even the very limited number he was allowed to raise, by voluntary enlistment; and the tardiness of the militia was such as to render them totally useless: In the mean time, the distress of the frontier, every moment widened and increased. The advance of the enemy towards Winchester was marked by undistinguishing massacre; helpless women and children became his victims, while the men fled in terror from the homes they could not protect. The deep horror and hopelessness of that period, are feelingly described in the letters of Washington. He saw inevitable destruction approaching, unless assistance was sent with a speed of which he perceived no prospect. "The supplicating tears of the women," he observes, in a communication to the governor, "and the moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's case."

It was at this moment of alarm and peril, that Peyton Randolph stepped forward, with several other high-minded men, among whom were numbers distinguished by their private worth, their public situation or their wealth, to offer an example of devotedness to country. Each of those gentlemen, furnished, at his own expence, two able bodied men, and the association, having formed themselves into a regiment, under the denomination of the Virginia Blues, appointed William Byrd, then a member of the council, their colonel, and marched to the frontier, to join the colonial force under colonel Washington. In this regiment, Mr. Randolph commanded a company. It may be true, that the commander would receive but feeble aid

from troops thus hastily organized, and formed of individuals bred in the lap of wealth and luxury, the habits of whose lives were those of ease and indulgence. Such men might be little fitted to contend with the hardy and agile enemy, in sleeping upon the bare ground without any other canopy than the heavens; in exposure to all the intemperances of the seasons; in swimming rivers, ranging the woods, climbing mountains, and wading morasses: nor could they be expected to cope with him more successfully in the use of the tomahawk or the rifle. In all these scenes and exercises, the savage of the wilderness would be in his natural element. But, whatever might have been the extent of their usefulness, the conduct of those gentlemen gave ample testimony that it would have been limited only by their ability, while to the yeomanry of the country, the example could not but prove highly beneficial. The campaign closed by the retreat to Fort Du Quesne of the savage foe, before he had been encountered, but laden with spoil, and bloody trophies of his barbarous successes; and the regiment of colonel Byrd returned to Williamsburg, to receive, in the approbation and applause of their fellow citizens, the best reward of the patriot soldier.

Mr. Randolph now resumed his civil duties, and continued to give new proofs of his talents and patriotism. He was a member of the house of burgesses, when, in 1764, the resolution of the English house of commons, declaring their intention of imposing stamp duties upon the colonies, was received in America. Virginia, who as early as 1651, had, with arms in her hands, stipulated with the parliament of Great Britain for the exclusive right of laying her own taxes, was now among the first to resist this new and alarming attempt at encroachment upon the liberties of the colony. The general assembly, composed of the council and the burgesses, determined to send an address against it to the king, and a memorial and remonstrance

to the houses of lords and commons; and Peyton Randolph, George Wythe, and, it is believed, Robert C. Nicholas, were appointed to draw up those papers. The remonstrance to the commons was written by George Wythe, and Mr. Randolph was the author of the address to the king. The latter production is a plain, but vigorous and manly appeal to the justice of the throne. After assurances of the firm and inviolable attachment of the colony to the person and government of the king, the sincerity of which had been demonstrated in its ready compliance with the royal requisitions during the late war, whereby an oppressive debt of nearly half a million had been incurred, the address proceeds to entreat the king, that he will be graciously pleased to protect his people of the colony "in the enjoyment of their ancient and inestimable right of being governed by such laws, respecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own consent, with the approbation of their sovereign or his substitute : a right, which, as men and the descendants of Britons, they have ever quietly possessed, since first by royal permission and encouragement they left the mother kingdom to extend its commerce and dominion;" and the appeal closes with the expression of an unanimous hope on the part of the people of Virginia, "that this invaluable birth right, descended to them from their ancestors, and in which they had been protected by his royal predecessors, would not be suffered to receive injury under the reign of a monarch so illustriously distinguished by his attention to the liberties of the people." But this hope, however sincere or reasonable, was not destined to be realized. The memorials from Virginia, together with petitions, of the same tenor, from New York and Massachusetts, were submitted by the board of trade to the privy council on the 11th of December of that year, and the council recommended it to the king to lay them before parliament :

but they went no further. They were suppressed, and in the month of March of the succeeding year, the stamp act was formally passed by both houses of parliament, and received the assent of the king.

When, on the 29th of the following May, Patrick Henry introduced into the house of burgesses his memorable resolutions on the subject of the stamp act, Mr. Randolph, with his coadjutors of the preceding session, joined in the opposition to their passage; but on grounds distinct from those assumed by the wavering or disaffected. These gentlemen contended that the principles of the resolutions had been asserted and maintained in the address and memorials already transmitted to England, and to which an answer was yet to be expected. But the mover of the resolutions had chosen a time to propose them, when there were but few members present; and encouraged and supported by his friend George Johnson, his ardour and overpowering eloquence, carried them triumphantly through the house; and thus, in their effects upon the public mind, hastened results, which, although perhaps contemplated, would have been less quickly produced by the more temperate policy of Mr. Randolph and his friends.

On the 12th of April 1766, he was chosen speaker of the assembly, to the great satisfaction of all classes of his fellow citizens. And about the same time resigned his office of attorney general, in which he was succeeded by his brother, John Randolph, father of the late Edmund Randolph. He now retired altogether from the bar, in order to devote himself solely to his duties as a legislator. For, although in consequence of a change of ministry in England, the stamp act had been repealed in March of this year, the sagacious mind of Randolph could not but perceive, in the plain declaration of the supremacy of parliament which accompanied the repeal, a fruitful source of future differences. It is true, the intelligence of this

triumph of colonial rights was received in America with a joy so lively, as to keep out of view, with many, the dangerous principle on which the concession had been made. In Virginia, the assembly ordered an obelisk to be erected in honour of the friends of liberty who had effected it; and a grateful address was voted to the king and parliament. But, even at this moment of feeling, there was about the proceedings of the assembly, a character of proud self-approbation with regard to what they had done, which furnished the surest pledge of their being prepared for renewed and perhaps more open resistance to oppression, should it again be attempted. In the answer to a communication of the governor on this subject, after expressing their satisfaction that no tumultuous excesses had stained the reputation of Virginia during the state of public excitation, they explicitly desire, that this circumstance should be ascribed "to a conviction, that the triumph of the oppressors would be short, and that justice would be done to the loyalty and rights of Virginia."

An occasion for fresh complaint soon presented itself. In the following year was passed the act of parliament, laying duties on various articles of merchandize imported into the colonies. The assembly of Virginia was again among the first to address the British government in terms of strong reprobation of this new usurpation; as well as of a late act suspending the legislative power of New York, which last they generously considered "as still more alarming to the colonies, though it had that single colony in view:" and an account of their proceedings on these subjects was transmitted immediately, by their speaker, Mr. Randolph, in reply to a communication which had been received from the Massachusetts assembly.

A new assembly was convened in May 1769, by Lord Botetourt, who had lately arrived as governor in chief, and, as no specific subjects of

deliberation were proposed by the governor, they proceeded to an immediate consideration, among others, of a new grievance, which was about to fall upon the colonies. This was the threatened transportation to England, for trial, of all persons who might be charged with treason, in the province of Massachusetts, a measure which had been recently recommended to the king, in a joint address of the lords and commons. If, as it has been said, this violent menace was meant to check the spirit of resistance in the other colonies, the intentions of parliament, in no instance, were more entirely frustrated. The assembly of Virginia did not hesitate a moment on the course they were to pursue. Several resolutions were passed, without opposition, in which they not only reiterated the assertion of their exclusive right to impose taxes within the colony, but added a decided protest against the legality of conveying inhabitants of the colony, for trial beyond sea, for any crime whatsoever, and a copy of those resolutions was ordered to be sent by the speaker, without delay, to the several assemblies throughout the continent, with a request that they would concur therein. On the following day they again assembled, and, placing no further reliance on the English parliament, agreed upon an address to the king alone, which Mr. Randolph, as speaker, was instructed to forward to the agent of the colony, with directions to cause it to be presented to the king, and inserted in the English papers. The assembly being suddenly dissolved by the governor, the members convened at a private house, where, having chosen Mr. Randolph moderator, they entered into a non-importation agreement, the articles of which were signed by every one present, among whom were Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, R. C. Nicholas, and many others, second to those only in the remembrance of their country.

The English government having, in the course of this year, exhibited another instance of its weakness and indecision, by abrogating all the duties they had so recently laid, except that on the single article of tea, the Virginia legislature again displayed its consistency and firmness, by an explicit declaration against mere partial remedies of evils so general and so great, as those they laboured under; and, having once more addressed the throne, they, as individuals, renewed their agreement not to import goods from the mother country, until the remaining duty should be repealed.

The death of Lord Botetourt occurred in the following year (1770,) when the house of assembly, impressed with a deep sense of his virtues, ordered a statue to be raised to his memory, and appointed Peyton Randolph, one of the committee, under whose direction it was to be procured. The character of this governor was indeed truly estimable: his manners were mild and conciliatory; and his endeavours to promote the interests of the colony were ardent and sincere. This was evinced by the whole tenor of his letters to the English ministry, which he was in the habit of handing, open, to Mr. Randolph and Mr. Nicholas, to be read and sealed by those gentlemen, before they were sent to England. He had, indeed, excited some disgust, on his first arrival in Virginia, by the almost regal state and splendour he assumed, but his deportment changed as his knowledge of the people he was among, improved: and so far did he, at length, resent the insidious conduct of his government towards the colony and himself, that, a short time before his death, he had indignantly demanded his recal.

Lord Dunmore, the new governor, conceiving, perhaps, some displeasure at the spirit of insubordination manifested by the assembly, soon after his assumption of the government, in 1772, with respect to certain extraordinary emoluments which he had demanded for his secretary, prorogued that body

from time to time, until, in the succeeding year, the discovery of an extensive forgery of the paper currency, made it necessary to call them together. But, after giving to the immediate cause of their meeting, the proper attention, the assembly did not neglect to make use of the opportunity thus presented, to review the general state of the country. The result of their deliberations was the appointment of a permanent committee of correspondence, at the head of which was placed Mr. Randolph, whose duties were to obtain early and authentic information of all such acts of the British government, as might bear upon the interests of the colonies, and to maintain a constant communication on these subjects, with the legislatures of the several other colonies, to each of which Mr. Randolph was charged to transmit a copy of those resolutions, with a request that they would appoint similar committees of their respective bodies. The enviable distinction which Virginia had by this time obtained throughout America, of being the foremost in every important measure of precaution or resistance, was perhaps, the more readily allowed to her, as it was evident that her views had never been bounded by the confines of her own soil. On former occasions, where New York and Massachusetts seemed alone to be affected by the acts of which she complained, her protest had been as loud and strong, as if herself were concerned, and, in the present resolutions, the only specific instruction which the committee of the assembly received, was, to make instant inquiry with regard to an oppressive power at that time said to be exercised in Rhode Island, by which persons were transported beyond sea to be tried for offences committed in America. The magnanimous conduct of Virginia on this occasion, drew from several of her sister colonies, formal acknowledgments of her wisdom and firmness; and the legislature of Rhode Island, in

one of her resolves, with a burst of laudable feeling, styled her legislature, "the glorious assembly of Virginia."

How little the American character was known in the mother country at this period, was shown, not more plainly by the acts of the government at home, than by the deportment of her governors in America. There was, in both, a constant recourse to petty artifices ; either indicating great contempt for our understanding, or betraying much weakness in their own. The failure of Lord Botetourt, to enfeeble or dazzle the minds of the Virginians, by glitter and pageantry, could not deter his successor from a still more ridiculous enterprize : and, accordingly, on his being joined by lady Dunmore and her family, the herald was employed to determine the rank and station of the gentry of Williamsburg, and the rules of precedency were actually and officially published. This trifling, it will readily be thought, engaged but little notice of the patriots of Virginia ; nor should it be recurred to here, but that it may tend, perhaps, to throw some light upon the character of a man who had no inconsiderable share in the concerns of that colony ; and who, at a moment when every thing bespoke the approach of a crisis the most eventful, could attend himself, or imagine others would attend, to such fopperies.

Intelligence of the act of parliament, shutting up the port of Boston, reached Williamsburg on the 26th of May. The house of burgesses, then in session, instantly resolved, that the first of June, the day on which the act was to go into operation, should be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer ; that divine interposition might then be implored, either to avert the threatening evils of civil war ; or to give to the people energy and union, to meet them with spirit and effect. In the midst of further

animated debate the assembly was abruptly dissolved by Lord Dunmore. But the members, soon after, met as private citizens, and, their late speaker, Mr. Randolph, presiding, they unanimously signed an address to their countrymen; in which, after recommending to them to abstain from the purchase or use of East India commodities, they declare, that the late attack on the rights of a sister colony, menaced ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole should be applied; and the committee of correspondence, of which Mr. Randolph was chairman, were therefore instructed to communicate with the other colonies on the expediency of calling a general congress of delegates, to meet annually, for the purpose of deliberating on those general measures, which the united interests of America might from time to time require. It may be unnecessary to remark, that the meeting of the first congress at Philadelphia, in the September following, was a consequence of this recommendation.

On the first day of August, the convention of deputies elected by the several counties of Virginia, assembled at Williamsburg, and Peyton Randolph was chosen their chairman. The first act of this body was a declaration of the necessity of a general congress, in order that redress might be procured for the much injured province of Massachusetts, and that the other provinces might be secured from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes. In pursuance of this declaration, on the fifth of the same month, they chose seven of their most distinguished members, to represent the colony in general congress; among these, were Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry. The convention, however, did not dissolve itself, until it had entered into a solemn agreement, which it also recommended to the people, not to import British merchandize or manufactures, nor to import nor even use the article

of tea ; and in case the American grievances were not redressed before the tenth of the next August, to cease the exportation of tobacco, or any other article whatever to Great Britain.

On the meeting of the first general congress at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, Peyton Randolph was called, by the united voice of the members, to preside over their deliberations. The character and proceedings of that august and enlightened assembly are so well known to the world, that to dwell upon them here would be superfluous. It may be permitted, however, to mention a remarkable occurrence which took place on the opening of congress, regarding as it does, a personage, respecting whom, even trifles become interesting. It is related, on the authority of the venerable Charles Thomson, that, upon the house being summoned to prayers, and their chaplain having commenced the service, it was perceived that of all the members present, George Washington was the only one who was upon his knees. A striking circumstance, certainly, and adding another trait to the character of a man, who seemed destined to be, in every situation, distinguished from his fellow mortals.

The severe indisposition of Mr. Randolph obliged him to retire from the chair on the 22d October of this year, and he was succeeded by the honourable Henry Middleton as president of congress. But his country was not yet to be deprived of his valuable services : on the 20th of March 1775, he appeared as president of the convention of deputies, convened at the town of Richmond, and was again elected a delegate to the general congress which was to be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th of the following May. But, before he left Virginia a second time, he had more than one occasion of displaying the uncommon moderation of his character. About the middle of April, the conduct of Lord Dunmore, in clandestinely removing

on board a ship of war, the powder of the city, together with his violent menaces against Williamsburg, had necessarily excited the resentment of the people : they were even upon the point of entering his house in an armed body ; and nothing, probably, but the timely interference of their venerated townsman, Randolph, would have saved the governor from their violence. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the upper country had also risen in arms. They assembled at Fredericksburg, and had just come to a decision to march towards Williamsburg, when Mr. Randolph arrived there on his way to Philadelphia. His advice, joined by that of his friend Edmund Pendleton, had its usual influence, and the volunteer companies, generally, returned to their several homes. There was, however, a remarkable exception to this acquiescence : a small force, commanded by the warm and enthusiastic Patrick Henry, actually proceeded to within a few miles of Williamsburg ; where their leader, before he would disband his troops, obtained, from the king's receiver general, a bill for the value of the powder in question.

A few days after the meeting of congress, in May 1775, on the arrival in America of what was called Lord North's conciliatory proposition, Mr. Randolph again quitted the chair of congress, and repaired to Williamsburg, where Lord Duumore had summoned the house of burgesses to assemble on the first of June, in order that he might lay before them the proposition of the British minister. Mr. Randolph resumed his situation as speaker of the house, and, when the answer to Lord North was to be given, anxious that its tone and spirit should be such as to have an effect upon those of the other colonies that would follow, and meet the feelings of the body he had left, he requested the aid of a younger and more ardent pen ; and it is to the vigorous conception of Jefferson that we owe that bold and masterly

production. The opposition to it was but feeble, and Mr. Randolph steadily supported and carried it through the house, with a few softenings only, which it received, in its course, from the more timid members.

After the adjournment of the house of burgesses he returned to the congress, which was still sitting at Philadelphia. It was generally expected that Mr. Hancock, who had succeeded him as president, would have resigned the chair on his return. Mr. Randolph, however, took his seat as a member, and entered readily into all the momentous proceedings of that body. But he was not destined to witness the independence of the country he had loved and served so faithfully. A stroke of apoplexy deprived him of life on the twenty-first of October 1775, at the age of 52 years.

Peyton Randolph was, indeed, a most excellent man, and no one was ever more beloved and respected by his friends. In manner he was, perhaps, somewhat cold and reserved towards strangers, but of the sweetest affability when ripened into acquaintance; of attic pleasantry in conversation, and always good humoured and conciliatory. He was liberal in his expenses, but so strictly correct also, that he never found himself involved in pecuniary embarrassment. His heart was always open to the amiable sensibilities of our nature; and he performed as many good acts as could have been done with his fortune, without injuriously impairing his means of continuing them.

As a lawyer, he was well read, and possessed a strong and logical mind. His opinions were highly regarded. They presented always a learned and sound view of the subject, but generally, too, betraying an unwillingness to go into its thorough development. For, being heavy and inert in body, he was rather too indolent and careless for business, which occasioned him to have a smaller portion of it than his abilities would have otherwise com-

manded. Indeed, after his appointment as attorney general, he did not seem to court, nor scarcely to welcome business. It ought, however, to be said of him to his honour, that in the discharge of that office he considered himself equally charged with the rights of the colony as with those of the crown : and that in criminal prosecutions, exaggerating nothing, he aimed only to arrive at a candid and just state of the transaction, believing it more a duty to save an innocent, than to convict a guilty, man.

As a politician, he was firm in his principles and steady in his opposition to foreign usurpation, but, with the other older members of the assembly, generally yielding the lead to the younger ; contenting himself with tempering their extreme ardour, and so far moderating their pace, as to prevent their going too much in advance of public sentiment. He presided in the house of burgesses, and subsequently, in the general congress, with uncommon dignity ; and, although not eloquent, yet when he spoke, his matter was so substantial, that no man commanded more attention. This, joined with the universal knowledge of his worth, gave him a weight in the assembly of Virginia, which few ever attained.

He left no issue, and his fortune was bequeathed to his widow, and his nephew, the late Edmund Randolph.





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THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LIFE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BIOGRAPHY, as it respects living characters, has been strongly deprecated by some, as likely to violate truth, by undue panegyric. With regard, however, to those who have filled so large a space in the public eye as the subject of this article, the objection loses much of its validity. Every thing known, and not a little imagined, of a nature to injure the fame of Mr. Jefferson, has been already given to the world without reserve, and it seems but just, therefore, to allow the publication of a few authenticated facts, even although some of them should happen to be creditable to his character.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born in Chesterfield county, Virginia, on the 2d day of April 1743. His family were among the earliest emigrants to Virginia; of which colony, his grandfather, Thomas Jefferson, was a native. He is the eldest surviving son of Peter Jefferson, known as one of the commissioners for determining the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, in the year 1747, and who left his son, together with an affluent fortune, the still more enviable inheritance of an honourable name.

After completing his education at the college of William and Mary, Mr. Jefferson became the pupil of George Wythe, the late venerable chancellor of Virginia, in the study of the law, a profession which he afterwards practised with great success. It was, however, an invariable rule with him,

as well as with his worthy preceptor, never to engage in support of a cause, which, after the most rigorous examination of witnesses, he did not ascertain to be just. The same union of honourable feeling accompanied these gentlemen through all the important scenes in which they were afterwards joined, and their friendship continued unimpaired to the day of chancellor Wythe's death in 1806, when, as a posthumous proof of his regard, he bequeathed to his beloved pupil and friend his valuable library and philosophical apparatus.

The uncommon qualifications possessed by Mr. Jefferson, even at a very early age, could not be overlooked by his country, at a time when she had so much need of their exercise in her service; nor would his patriotism permit him to remain inattentive to her call, however it might separate him from domestic enjoyment, or professional pursuits.

In the year 1769, he was already a distinguished member of the legislature of Virginia, and had, subsequently, a large share in all those determined measures of that body, with regard to the mother country, which finally led to the call of a general congress. His principal colleagues, in opposing the usurpation of England, were some of the most eminent lawyers of Virginia;—among these, Randolph, Pendleton and Wythe, although active and resolute in defence of colonial rights, from their age, perhaps, and habits, which had been long confirmed, did not conceive a very early idea of a separation from Great Britain. Patrick Henry burst out at once indignant and impatient, but his ardour seems to have been kindled by the extraordinary events of the day. Mr. Jefferson was too young to have formed any inveterate attachment to the system of government under which he lived, from the mere force of habit, and yet had passed more time than many older men, in close and severe study and reflection on political

subjects. He possessed not only that liberal reach of thought, which, from the retirement of his closet, could look forward to the independence of his country, as a very desirable and not impossible occurrence, but a philosophical self-possession also, which, at that time of tumult and agitation, could calmly analyze, weigh, and compare, the various plans devised for the government of nations, ancient and modern ; and fix upon the republican system as most suitable to the genius, and best calculated to promote the happiness of his country.

His duties in the house of burgesses were arduous and nearly incessant, but to minds disciplined like his, almost any thing of mental labour is possible, and in the midst of his avocations as a legislator, he found time, in the year 1774, to write and publish his "Summary view of the rights of British America." He was still a member of the assembly, when, in June 1775, the propositions of Lord North were laid before them by the governor ; and the duty was assigned to him of framing the reply of the house. Several extracts from this paper appear in most of our histories of that period, as specimens of bold and fine writing, but there are other portions of it, less frequently seen, that bestow on it a much higher character than even of argument or eloquence, and which might be quoted as evidence of the generous and enlarged views, both of the man who conceived, and the assembly which sanctioned, the sentiments they convey. Among the reasons adduced by Mr. Jefferson on behalf of Virginia, for not acceding to the propositions, are these :

"Because, on our undertaking to grant money, as is proposed, the commons only resolve to forbear levying pecuniary taxes on *us*, still leaving unrepealed, their several acts passed for the purpose of restraining the trade, and altering the form of government of the eastern colonies.

“Because they are also proceeding to repetition of injury by passing acts for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the province of New England, and for prohibiting the trade of the other colonies with all parts of the world, except the islands of Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies.

“Because the proposition now made to us, involves the interest of all the other colonies. We are represented in general congress by members approved by this house, where our former union, it is hoped, will be so strongly cemented, that no partial applications can produce the slightest departure from the common cause. We consider ourselves as bound in honour as well as interest, to share one general fate with our sister colonies, and should hold ourselves as base deserters of that union to which we have acceded, were we to agree on any measures distinct and apart from them.” The impressive close of this production cannot be too much admired.

“These, my lord, are our sentiments on this important subject, which we offer only as an individual part of the whole empire. Final determination we leave to the general congress now sitting, before whom we shall lay the papers your lordship has communicated to us. For ourselves, we have exhausted every mode of application, which our invention could suggest as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament, they have added new injuries to the old; we have wearied our king with supplications, he has not deigned to answer us; we have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation, their efforts in our favour have hitherto been ineffectual. What then remains to be done? That we commit our injuries to the even handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong, earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavours of those to whom America hath confided her hopes; that

through their wise directions, we may again see reunited the blessings of liberty, prosperity, and harmony, with Great Britain."

A few days after this address had passed, Mr. Jefferson took his seat in the general congress at Philadelphia: and, on leaving Virginia, experienced, probably, the most noble mark of the people's confidence in his virtue and integrity, that, as a political leader, he possibly could receive. A portion of the inhabitants, who had not yet felt any actual pressure of tyranny, and, although respectable from their situation in life, were rather too unenlightened to perceive its speedy approach in events passing at Boston, waited upon their delegates, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Harrison, previously to their departure, and addressed them in the following terms: "You assert that there is a fixed design to invade our rights and privileges; we own that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step; but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt."

Mr. Jefferson had scarcely appeared in the national legislature, before he became conspicuous among those the most distinguished by their abilities and ardour. In the following July, when the conciliating proposition was transmitted to congress by the several assemblies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New Jersey, he was placed upon the committee with Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Mr. Lee, to whom the subject was referred by the house. The report of this committee takes a larger view of American grievances, but its leading ideas, and, in some instances, even the phrases, are the same as the address reported by Mr. Jefferson in the Virginia assembly.

It will not be going too far to assert, that Mr. Jefferson was one of the

few, on whom the whole weight of the revolution rested. Perhaps there never was assembled a deliberative body of men more enlightened, patriotic, and virtuous, than this legislature: but a portion of the doubt and apprehension of many timid persons in the community, could not but be communicated to some within the walls of congress. Mr. Jefferson was one of those in whose character weakness and irresolution were unknown. He acted from a clear and long settled conviction, the result of cool and mature reflection, and, while he pursued a bold and undeviating course towards the great object of independence, was enabled by his example, as well as by his arguments, to encourage and confirm others.

The declaration of independence is justly attributed to the pen of Mr. Jefferson. It would be unnecessary at this time to canvass the merits of this performance: not only America, but all Europe too, has long since decided on its claims to excellence. The only alterations the original draught of this celebrated production received in the committee, were from Dr. Franklin and John Adams, each of whom suggested a single verbal variation. In its progress through the house, where it was supported, in its original form, by all the zeal of Mr. Adams, it also experienced some change, but of a very trivial character. The venerable Edmund Pendleton, who died in the year 1803, left behind him a manuscript copy of the declaration, which had been sent to him by his friend Jefferson, before it had been submitted to the committee. The paper is endorsed in Mr. Pendleton's hand writing as follows, "Original draught of the declaration of independence, in congress changed for the worse." It might be added, that a gentleman, known to the writer of this article, has examined the original paper in the possession of Mr. Jefferson, and agrees with the biographer of

Mr. Pendleton in his conclusion, that Mr. Jefferson appears to have almost exclusively drawn that instrument.

From the commencement of the year 1777, to the middle of 1779, Mr. Jefferson was engaged with Pendleton and Wythe, in making a general revisal of the laws of Virginia, to be laid before the assembly of that state. The industry and zeal of those gentlemen, prepared one hundred and twenty-six bills, from which are derived all the most liberal features of the existing laws of the commonwealth. But it was to the enlightened mind of Jefferson, that Virginia owes the most important and beneficial changes in her code. The laws forbidding the future importation of slaves ; converting estates tail into fees simple ; annulling the rights of primogeniture ; establishing schools for general education ; sanctioning the right of expatriation ; and confirming the rights of freedom of religious opinion, were all introduced by him, and were adopted at the time they were first proposed, or at a subsequent period ; and, in addition to these, he brought forward a law proportioning crimes and punishments, which was afterwards passed under a different modification.

Mr. Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as governor of Virginia in 1779, and was reappointed in the following year. He was yet in discharge of the important functions attached to this office under a constitution scarcely settled, and his duties rendered still more arduous by the situation of the country and the clamours or secret machinations of envy and malignity, when, in January 1781, the enemy invaded Virginia. It has been asserted that on this occasion, Mr. Jefferson was remiss in his duty ; that he abandoned the government, and fled from Richmond. A brief review of the circumstances attending Arnold's incursions will best shew what conclusions are warrantable from Mr. Jefferson's conduct in this affair. The moment

intelligence reached Richmond that the enemy, with a fleet of twenty-seven sail of vessels, had entered the capes, the necessary orders were given for calling out the militia to oppose them: and while general Nelson was despatched to the lower country with full powers, a force of four thousand seven hundred men, the number required by general, the Baron Steuben, was to be raised from the other counties. The assembling of this species of troops, is, however, proverbially slow, and the few that could be brought together, amounting to about two hundred, and these from the town of Richmond, were ordered by Baron Steuben to Petersburg, which place he supposed would be the object of the enemy. When, at length, it was discovered that he was in full march for Richmond, it will be readily conceived that an attempt to defend it without troops of any kind, would have been preposterous. If, under these circumstances, Mr. Jefferson thought it expedient to retire, so also did the Baron Steuben, whose most peculiar duty it would have been to remain, had the place been deemed defensible. But it is not sufficient to assert that Mr. Jefferson did not desert Richmond in an improper manner. Justice requires it to be known, that he was the last man of any consideration, either in a civil or military capacity, who remained in the town; and, that his exertions, even to personal labour, were incessant and unwearied; and, that he continued to the last practicable moment, in securing and sending off to a place of safety, the army, military stores, and public records. The rapid course of the enemy was not impeded for a moment by the trifling force that could be brought against him. Arnold landed with fifteen hundred infantry and one hundred horse at Westover, about twenty-six miles below Richmond, on the fourth of January; and the next day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, entered Richmond. A detached body, under colonel Simcoe, proceeded, without

halting, to Westham, a crossing place about seven miles above; and, having burned the magazine, the foundery, the boring mill, and other buildings, in the neighbourhood, rejoined Arnold at Richmond, which place, after completing the destruction of some public, and much private property, the enemy evacuated on the sixth, at 12 o'clock; thus, having, within less than forty-eight hours from the time of their landing, and nineteen from their destination being known at Richmond, penetrated thirty-three miles, done all the mischief and retired.

The legislature of Virginia was sitting when the entrance of the enemy into James River was made known at Richmond. They were informed without reserve, of the measures adopted by the governor; every suggestion from the members was welcomed and considered, and their adjournment on the second of January, furnished the most immediate and confidential means of calling for the militia of their several counties. They accordingly became the bearers of those calls, and they were themselves witnesses that every preparation was making which the exhausted and harassed state of the country admitted. They met again at Richmond in May, and adjourned to Charlotte-ville, whence they formed a house on the twenty-eighth of the month. Mr. Jefferson's term of office expired on the second day of June, being the fifth day of the session, and no successor had been appointed, when, on the fourth, an enterprize by Tarleton's cavalry drove them thence, and they met again at Staunton on the seventh. At this place, some members attended, who had not been at Richmond at the period of Arnold's incursion; among these was Mr. George Nicholas, a very upright and able man, though at that time young and sanguine. This gentleman, very honestly no doubt, supposed there had been some remissness in the measures of the governor on that occasion, and accordingly, moved for an inquiry on the subject, to

be made at the ensuing session, which was willingly agreed to by the members who had been at Richmond, as the most likely means of doing justice to the character and conduct of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Nicholas in a candid and honourable manner, sent to Mr. Jefferson, through a friend, a copy of the topics of inquiry he proposed to investigate; and Mr. Jefferson, with the same frankness, communicated to him the justifications he should offer, in order that he might be prepared to refute them if they were not properly founded. That he might be placed on equal ground for meeting the inquiry, one of the representatives of his county resigned his seat, and Mr. Jefferson was unanimously elected in his place. Mr. Nicholas, however, before the meeting of the assembly, became better satisfied with what had been done, and did not appear to bring forward the inquiry; and in a publication several years afterwards, made honourable acknowledgments of the erroneous views he had entertained on the subject. Mr. Jefferson, therefore, read in his place, the inquiries Mr. Nicholas had proposed to make, and stated his own justification. The result was, an immediate and unanimous concurrence of the house, in the following resolution :

“Resolved, That the sincere thanks of the general assembly, be given to our former governor, Thomas Jefferson, for his impartial, upright, and attentive administration whilst in office. The assembly wish, in the strongest manner, to declare the high opinion they entertain of Mr. Jefferson’s ability, rectitude, and integrity, as chief magistrate of this commonwealth, and mean, by thus publicly avowing their opinion, to obviate and to remove all unmerited censure.”

It might have been expected that this honourable testimonial of the legislature would have secured the character of Mr. Jefferson from all aspersion. But it is the fate of distinguished virtue, from the very elevation

of her station, to be peculiarly obnoxious to the aim of malevolence and envy. A thousand ludicrous parodies of those transactions have since been intruded upon the world, among which, that by general Lee, in his memoirs, is, perhaps, the most distinguished. This officer was in a distant state at the time of their occurrence, and seems to have made up his random account entirely from idle rumour.

The coup de main of Tarleton on Charlotte-ville in June, and the consequent flight of Jefferson from Monticello, having furnished themes for censure, a particular recurrence to the facts may not be improper. After the adjournment of the legislature at Richmond in May, the enemy had been greatly augmented by reinforcements under Lord Cornwallis and general Phillips, and had advanced up into the country as far as Elk island, and the fork of James' river. On learning there that the legislature was in session at Charlotte-ville, they detached colonel Tarleton, with his legion of horse to surprise them. He was, however, observed while passing through Louisa, on the evening of the third of June, by a Mr. Jovett, who, suspecting his object, set out instantly for Charlotte-ville, and being well acquainted with the by-ways of the neighbourhood, passed the encampment of the enemy, and riding all night, arrived, before sunrise of the fourth, at Monticello, with information of what he had seen, and immediately passed on to Charlotte-ville, to apprise the members of the assembly. The speakers of the two houses, and several of the members, had that night lodged at Monticello. Mr. Jefferson ordered a carriage to be in readiness to carry off his family, who, however, breakfasted at leisure with their guests. Soon after breakfast, and when the visitors had left the house, a neighbour rode up in full speed, with the intelligence that a troop of horse was then ascending the hill. Mr. Jefferson now sent off his family, and

after a short delay for some indispensable arrangements, mounted his horse, and taking a course through the woods, joined them, at the house of a friend, where they dined. It would scarcely be believed by those not acquainted with the fact, that this flight of a single and unarmed man, from a troop of cavalry, whose whole legion, too, was within supporting distance, and whose main object was his capture, has been the subject of volumes of reproach on Mr. Jefferson in prose and poetry, serious and sarcastic.

It is no slight proof of the mental energy possessed by Mr. Jefferson, that, amidst the tumult and confusion of the year 1781, he could compose such a work as the "Notes on Virginia." It was written in reply to the queries proposed to him by Mons. de Marbois, the secretary of the French legation in the United States, at the suggestion, it is supposed, of the French court. In the following year, 1782, the notes were enlarged by the author, and in 1784, a few copies were printed at Paris in the French language by M. de Marbois, for his particular friends. An imperfect translation into English having appeared afterwards in France, Mr. Jefferson, in 1787, favoured the public with the first complete edition in English. The author had recorded in this work the speech of Logan, an Indian chief, as a specimen of native eloquence, and, as far as it would go, in disproof of the absurd theory which had been advanced by Buffon, Raynal, and others. This speech was, afterwards, about the year 1797, pronounced by the enemies of the author of the notes to be a gross forgery, and the whole transaction connected with it, a fabrication. "As soon as I found that the story of Logan could be doubted," Mr. Jefferson observes, in a letter to governor Henry of Maryland, "I determined to inquire into it as accurately as the testimony remaining, after a lapse of twenty odd years, would permit, and that the result should be made known, either in the first new edition

which should be printed of the Notes on Virginia, or by publishing an appendix;"—and, accordingly, every edition of the work, published subsequently to the year 1797, is accompanied by an appendix, furnishing the most undeniable testimony of the genuineness of the speech of Logan, and of the general correctness of the story to which it has relation. To put the matter beyond doubt, among the certificates annexed, is one from Judge Gibson of Pennsylvania, the individual who received the speech from the hands of the chief, Logan, and delivered it to Lord Dunmore in the year 1774.

About the close of the year 1782, Mr. Jefferson was appointed a minister plenipotentiary, to join those in Europe, who were to determine on the conditions of a treaty of peace, which it was expected would soon be entered into. He had, at a former period, immediately after the declaration of independence, been joined in the commission with Dr. Franklin and John Adams, to propose to France, treaties of alliance and commerce, but declined going abroad at that time, from circumstances in the state of his family, and from a conviction that he could be more useful in America; for, the affairs of the country then laboured under their greatest difficulties. None of those obstacles, however, intervening on the present occasion, he repaired to Philadelphia, in January 1783, in order to embark for Europe. Here the minister of France offered him the French frigate *Romulus*, which was then at Baltimore, for his passage; but, before the ice would permit her to leave the port, intelligence was received that preliminaries of peace between the United States and Great Britain had been signed. Mr. Jefferson wrote to congress from Baltimore, to inquire whether the occasion of his services was not passed, and they, of course, dispensed with his leaving America.

In the summer of this year, Mr. Jefferson was in congress, at the time the Virginia convention were establishing their form of government. He had been for some time engaged on this subject, and had prepared a constitution for the state, formed on the purest principles of republicanism, and which was, probably, the first draught of a fundamental constitution made by any man in America. This he transmitted to the convention, but it did not reach them until the day on which the one that had been proposed in the house, was to receive its final vote. The debate had been ardent and protracted, and the members, wearied and exhausted, were not disposed to recommence the subject, whatever good they might perceive in the draught sent them by Mr. Jefferson. His preamble, however, was adopted entire, and prefixed to their constitution.

On the establishment of peace, and the consequent opening of a general commercial intercourse, plenipotentiary commissions for the concluding treaties of commerce, were given to Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, and John Adams, addressed to the several powers of Europe, and Mr. Jefferson sailed from the United States in July 1784. A commercial treaty with Prussia was the only result of these general commissions, immediately after the signing of which, Dr. Franklin returned to America, and Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor as minister plenipotentiary to France. A short time previous to the expiration of the joint commission, he crossed over to London, with Mr. Adams, to endeavour to promote, between the government of the United States and Great Britain, a cordial connection of interests, and, among the terms they proposed to offer, was an exchange of naturalization of citizens and vessels, as to every thing relating to commerce or commercial navigation. The ministers were received by Lord Carmathæen, and their commissions read, but he evaded every attempt they made to

procure a conference on the subject, and a few days only before their commissions would have expired, and after seven weeks attendance in London, Mr. Jefferson returned to Paris.

The subjects of negotiation at the court of Versailles, were not of a character, perhaps, to call into exhibition what are usually termed shining diplomatic talents, but no little address was required, to gain from De Vergennes and Calonne, the commercial advantages he did, in opposition to the powerful body of the farmers generally, and other interested persons. Among the principal benefits then obtained, and continued to the United States until the period of the French revolution, were the abolition of several monopolies, and the free admission into France of tobacco, rice, whale oil, salted fish, and flour; and of the two latter articles into the French West India islands.

While residing in France, Mr. Jefferson was requested by his native state to present in its name, to the city of Paris, the bust of the gallant Marquis de la Fayette: an accident deprived him from having this gratification; and his friend Mr. Short of Virginia, was deputed by him to perform the ceremony, in person, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Jefferson.

The leisure, as minister, which was imposed on him by the increasing distraction of the country, allowed him the opportunity of cultivating his acquaintance with the fine arts, and of enjoying the society and conversation of men celebrated in literature and science. His frequent letters to eminent persons in America, during this period, display the great versatility of his genius, and the constant attention he bestowed on every thing calculated to embellish or benefit society.

He continued in France until October 1789, when, having obtained leave of a temporary absence, he embarked for America, and arrived at Norfolk in the following November. On his way to his seat at Monticello, he was met by an express from the president, bringing him a commission as secretary of state under the lately established federal constitution. He would, it is believed, have preferred returning to France, but could not refuse to acquiesce in the very strong desire expressed by general Washington that he would afford the aid of his talents to the government at home. He, accordingly, in April 1790, proceeded to New York, then the seat of government, and entered upon the office of secretary of state, in which he continued until the first of January 1794, when he resigned the situation and retired to private life. The reasons which induced him to withdraw from public affairs, have been variously stated. Although the charms of domestic retirement, from which he had been so much estranged, must have been greatly attractive to one who had always so high a relish for its enjoyment, yet the principal cause of his retirement seems to be too obvious to be mistaken. His weight in the cabinet was overbalanced by opposite political opinions and interests, and he might naturally desire, under such circumstances, to quit a situation where he found he could no longer be useful. He had, therefore, in the preceding summer, intimated to the president, the design he now executed, of retiring at the close of the year. But he withdrew with unimpaired, and even with added, reputation. The arduous and important duties of his station are universally acknowledged to have been discharged in a manner to reflect the highest credit on himself and on his country. The neutrality of the United States was maintained at a most trying period, with inflexible impartiality towards the belligerent powers of France and England. His deportment towards Hammond and

Genet, the ministers resident of two great and rival powers, furnishes the clearest evidence of his unyielding firmness and consummate ability as a statesman, and the publication of his correspondence with Genet, for a time, even disarmed party of its rancour against him. A few other of his acts while secretary, ought, perhaps, to be noticed, as they are calculated to show, in various lights, the wonderful extent of his capacity. Among these might be particularized, his reports on the privileges and restrictions of commerce; and on the whale and cod fisheries; with his plan for reducing the currency, weights, and measures of the United States to an uniform standard. It has been observed, that these papers evince not only the feelings of a patriot and the judgment of an accomplished statesman, but display, at the same time, uncommon talents and knowledge as a mathematician and natural philosopher, the deepest research as an historian, and even an enlarged and intimate acquaintance with the business and concerns of a merchant.

In the bosom of his family at Monticello, Mr. Jefferson had now for a short time, a taste of those tranquil pleasures which he had so ardently desired. But the state of the country did not long permit him to enjoy them. General Washington was about to retire from the public scene, and the eyes of Mr. Jefferson's political friends, were already fixed upon him as his successor in the presidential chair. After a severe struggle between the parties, Mr. Adams was elected president, in 1797, and Mr. Jefferson having the next highest number of votes, became vice president of the United States. In the dignified situation of vice president, he continued to grow in the confidence and affections of his fellow citizens; subject, indeed, to those animadversions which he, who is considered as the leader of a party, must expect from those in opposition. But the period was approaching

when he was to receive the most unequivocal proof of the estimation in which he was held by the larger portion of the people. In the year 1801, on the expiration of the constitutional term of four years from the election of Mr. Adams, a majority of suffrages appeared for Mr. Jefferson, as president of the United States, and he was thus exalted by the free choice of his fellow citizens to the highest station acknowledged by their form of government. He continued to preside over the destinies of the nation during eight years, and when, in 1809, perceiving, as he thought, the decay of his physical powers, and doubting the continuance of his mental energies, he declined a third election, and resolved to withdraw for the remainder of his days from the political theatre. The admiration, the gratitude, and the regrets of the nation followed him.

Before we intrude, for the last time, upon the domestic retirement of Mr. Jefferson, it seems necessary to take a cursory glance at those of his public acts which have not been noticed.

The interdiction of commercial intercourse with other nations, the most prominent measure, perhaps, of his administration, appears to have been imposed by circumstances growing out of the peculiar state of the relations of foreign belligerent powers, who deemed it essential to the maintenance of their own, to invade the rights of neutrals. This measure promised, while it secured our property, and our seamen, to compel a redress of wrongs, by depriving the aggressors of a trade which had become of considerable importance to them. The continuance of the embargo by Mr. Jefferson, notwithstanding the frequent evasions or infractions of the law, was approved by some, while it was considered by others as injurious to the interests of the nation.

It may be proper to state this fact, but it would not well comport with

the principles upon which this work is conducted to offer any opinion, were we competent, on a subject which has been so much discussed by the ablest men of our country, and upon whose merits it is for the nation at large to decide.

Mr. Jefferson has been charged with a particular animosity towards England, and with a constant desire to engage the United States in a war with that nation. But it would seem, if the protraction of the embargo, when the country cried out for war, did not disprove this charge, that, at least, his conduct on another occasion might, in every impartial mind. The insult to our national sovereignty, offered by the British vessel of war the *Leopard*, excited but one sensation throughout the United States. Mr. Jefferson strove to allay, and did allay, the violent excitement in the public mind, and for the time, by his individual moderation, averted war: and, although his forbearance in this instance may not be applauded by all his friends, surely it did not bear the face of much consistency in those who had before reproached him with having cherished hostile propensities, then to censure him for his pacific disposition.

An undue partiality for France, and a correspondence and connection with Bonaparte, have been urged against him;—but his conduct, during the very fever of democratic sympathy, in 1793, ought to confute the former charge; and the latter is almost too preposterous to be seriously met. Mr. Jefferson never for an instant could look upon the ambitious schemes and despotic acts of Napoleon in even his accustomed spirit of toleration. He was precisely such a ruler as Mr. Jefferson could not possibly like. For the rest, if it be necessary to say so, no private letter, message, communication or present of any kind, ever passed between them.

Among the faults imputed to him, was a strong disinclination to the

erection of a navy. But a reference to his Notes on Virginia, will conclusively ascertain, that he had liberal, though reasonable ideas on the subject of a naval establishment, when that work was composed, and, therefore, before many others in the country had given it a thought. When the reduction of the United States marine, under his administration, is spoken of, it is too often kept out of view, that this reduction was the consequence of a law passed on the last day of his predecessor's term of office. If the measure was thought expedient by Mr. Adams, there seems no sufficient reason for the objection to Mr. Jefferson's policy in acceding to it. He exercised no other authority than had formerly been given to Mr. Adams, in selling those vessels of war which were found to be manifestly unfit for public service, and it ought not to be forgotten that under his administration, several changes were made in the naval establishment, shewing at least no hostility towards it: of these might be mentioned, the very considerable augmentation of the body of naval officers and of the corps of marines, the completion of the navy yard at Washington, and, among many minor improvements, the extension of the term of enlistment of seamen. On the efficiency of gun boats in the defence of harbours, the idea of which has been so decried, the writer of this article professes himself incompetent to decide. The theory, like that of the torpedo, may yet require the test of a fair and ample experience, but whatever confidence Mr. Jefferson may have had in this means of defence, it does not appear that he considered it as more than a mere auxiliary to land fortifications: and, if comparisons were forced upon his friends, it might easily be shewn that the appropriations for fortifying our ports and harbours during his administration, equalled, at least, in amount, those made under his predecessors.

There was a time when the purchase of the territory of Louisiana was,

with some, among the political sins of Mr. Jefferson, but, it is presumed, that period has gone by. Perhaps no one of his acts displays in a truer light, the character of his mind, replete with philanthropy and the love of science, than his almost immediate directions for the exploration of the trackless wilds of that immense country. The expeditions of Lewis and Clark on the Missouri, and of major Pike to the sources of the Mississippi, were projected by Mr. Jefferson, not more with a view to the attainment of knowledge, than to the extending the bounties and blessings of friendship and civilization to the savage of the wilderness, a race of men who, in every part of the United States, owe as much to his efforts for the amelioration of their condition, as to those of any other individual.

But a principal attributed offence of Mr. Jefferson, remains to be considered. It has been alleged that he was the enemy and the insidious calumniator of Washington. The allegation is chiefly grounded on a letter written by him to Mr. Mazzei, author of the "Researches historical and political on North America." This gentleman, a learned and scientific Italian, with a small colony of industrious 'Tuscans, had settled in Virginia about the year 1773, and was welcomed and cherished by many of the citizens, among whom were Washington and Jefferson. He had been in the military and civil employ of his adopted state during a part of our revolutionary war, and was captured by the British while in its service. Mr. Mazzei was now in 'Tuscany, but he still continued a zealous republican, and as a devoted friend to the United States, took a deep interest in all that concerned her. The letter in question was written by Mr. Jefferson to this gentleman, when the fever of party raged with uncommon violence at a period subsequent to his resignation as secretary of state, and after the conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain by Mr. Jay, a measure, which

Mr. Jefferson, as a private citizen, never did approve. In his letter to Mr. Mazzei, he advanced the opinion, that the political situation of the country had undergone a considerable change since he left it, that a party had arisen too much inclined to the politics of England, whose principles had a tendency to aristocracy, and even to monarchy; and that this party embraced some who had formerly been distinguished in the council and the field by their wisdom and energy. This, then, is the calumny against Washington. But the name of Washington is not even mentioned in his letter, and while giving his opinion of a party, the right of Mr. Jefferson to speak openly of acts, to which he had shown, while secretary of state, the most unequivocal proofs of disapprobation, cannot be denied.

With respect to the libeller Callender, a man whose name ought not, perhaps, to pollute this page, a few words will suffice. This person was an emigrant from Scotland; driven from his native country, as he stated, by persecution, on account of his literary efforts in the cause of liberty. Several of the inhabitants of Philadelphia joined in pecuniary contributions to his relief, and Mr. Jefferson, on being applied to, did not withhold from him the charity, which, on all occasions, was freely accorded to distress. A very respectable gentleman is now living in Philadelphia, at whose instance these donations of Mr. Jefferson were granted. The subsequent conduct of Callender, may have been infamous, and some of his writings base and false; but this cannot destroy the purity of the motives which actuated his early benefactors. To Mr. Jefferson, this man had always been a stranger, until, on his accession to the presidency, he presented himself as an applicant for a situation under the government. Mr. Jefferson's denial was peremptory: upon which Callender established at Richmond, and continued for several years, a literary vehicle of the vilest abuse of the president, and

it is on the authority of this unprincipled man that some have believed Mr. Jefferson was capable of hiring him to slander the name and character of Washington.

No man ever entertained a more exalted opinion of another, than Jefferson had uniformly done of general Washington ; and, if his signing the British treaty of 1794 be excepted, perhaps there was not a single act of the general's life, of which Mr. Jefferson disapproved. But even on this occasion, although he disapproved of the policy of the measure, and freely as he has ever spoken of it, yet he never wrote, or caused to be published, a syllable of censure on it. The Duke de Liancourt is among the public witnesses of his habit of speaking in terms of the greatest respect and admiration of Washington ; in favour of whom he has sometimes even departed from his plain republican notions. An instance of this occurred lately in a conversation with a gentleman, in which, among other topics, a discussion arose on the propriety of erecting monuments in honour of the great men of the country. Mr. Jefferson could not think the custom consonant to the simplicity of our manners or institutions, but at the same time agreed, that the character and services of Washington and Franklin, fully entitled them to be thus distinguished. It is an unquestionable truth, that general Washington and Mr. Jefferson were always cordial and sincere friends. Their intimacy, indeed, was no common one. They had been colleagues in the assembly of their native state, and in the national congress. During the revolutionary war, when their public duties separated them, a friendly intercourse was maintained by letter. After the war, this correspondence still subsisted. On the delicate subject of the order of the Cincinnati, the most frank opinions were given and received, and after the return of general Washington from his tour through the western parts of New England and

New York, extensive plans for the improvement of the country were proposed and canvassed. During the whole of the residence of Mr. Jefferson in France, the interchange of letters between them was uninterrupted, and whilst on his visit to the United States, it was only at the earnest entreaty of general Washington, that he accepted the office of secretary of state. That the mutual esteem of those illustrious men was not diminished by the circumstances which led to Mr. Jefferson's resignation, may be seen from their letters to each other which followed that event, and was particularly exemplified in their parting interview. Before they separated, general Washington, warmly pressing the hand of Mr. Jefferson, asked him if there was any thing in his power to bestow which would be acceptable, when the latter declined every offer, repeating his determination to retire to private life.

It is well known, that general Washington hesitated to serve a second term as president, although strongly solicited by the whole country, and it was principally owing to the representations and advice of Mr. Jefferson, that he at length consented to be re-elected.

After Mr. Jefferson's election as vice president in 1797, so far from the existence of any coolness between them, his visits to general Washington were always productive of the sincerest pleasure to both. A marked attention was constantly paid to Mr. Jefferson. Every rite of the frankest hospitality was sedulously observed towards him, and he seldom was suffered to leave Mount Vernon, except in the carriage of his friendly host. When it is considered that an intercourse of this nature was continued and maintained, up to near the lamented death of Washington, when the letter to Mazzei, and every report and rumour which was circulated to Jefferson's prejudice must have been known to him, the conclusion is irresistible, that those who still affect to credit them, pay but an ill compliment to the

undoubted discernment of Washington, or to his well ascertained ingenuousness of character. It is, indeed, a melancholy reflection, that a friendship so sacred, should be rudely violated by the hands of party. Party! a monster, who, without feelings or affection, is incapable of conceiving of their existence, and who perceives, even in the last sad duty of friendship, weeping over the tomb of departed worth and greatness, only an act of hollow hypocrisy. But party spirit fades at the approach of truth. The shades are now rapidly passing away from before the character of Jefferson; and the evening of his life may yet be unobscured, even by a political cloud.

Of the domestic character, the attainments, and the pursuits of Mr. Jefferson, much more might be said. The opinions of distinguished foreigners have agreed always in placing him, in these, among the best and highest. The Marquis de Chastelleux, thus depicts him in his retirement, at the close of the revolutionary war. "Let us describe to you a man, not yet forty, tall, and with a mild and pleasing countenance; whose mind and understanding are ample substitutes for every exterior grace. An American, who, without ever having quitted his own country, is at once a musician, skilled in drawing, a geometrician, an astronomer, a natural philosopher, legislator and statesman; a senator of America, who sat for two years in the famous congress which brought about the revolution, and which is never mentioned without respect. A governor of Virginia, who filled that difficult station during the invasions of Arnold, of Phillips, and of Cornwallis; a philosopher, in voluntary retirement from the world and public business, because he loves the world only as he can flatter himself with being useful to mankind. A mild and amiable wife, charming children, of whose education he himself took charge; a house to embellish, extensive improvements

to make, and the arts and sciences to cultivate : these are what remained to Mr. Jefferson at the time this character was drawn, after having played a principal part in the theatre of the New World, and which he then preferred to the honourable commission of minister plenipotentiary in Europe. His knowledge, indeed, was universal. Sometimes natural philosophy, at others, politics or the arts, were the topics of our conversation; and it seemed as if from his youth he had placed his mind, as he had done his house, upon an elevated situation, from which he might contemplate the universe."

In 1795, after his resignation as secretary of state, he is thus spoken of by the Duke de Liancourt, after receiving an eulogium on his public character:—"His conversation is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to that of any other man. In Europe, he would hold a distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he has already appeared there. At present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings, and he orders, directs, and pursues, in the minutest detail, every branch of business relating to them. The author of this sketch found him in the midst of harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. As he cannot expect any assistance from the two small neighbouring towns, every article is made on his farm: his negroes are cabinet makers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c. The children he employs in a nail manufactory, which yields already a considerable profit. The young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them by rewards and distinctions; in fine, his superior mind directs the management of his domestic concerns with the same abilities, activity, and

regularity, which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in every situation of life.”

Mr. Jefferson has been the president of the American Philosophical Society since the death of Mr. Rittenhouse in 1776, and is a member of many literary societies in Europe and America. His acquaintance with the languages, ancient and modern, is, perhaps, equalled by that of very few men; he has even cultivated a knowledge of those dialects of Northern Europe, growing out of the Gothic, which are so strangely neglected by English scholars, although they are so closely connected with our own language, laws, customs, and history. Before Horne Tooke attached importance to the Anglo-Saxon, Mr. Jefferson had gone so far as to recommend, in his Notes on Virginia, that a professor for the ancient language and literature of the north, should be added to the college of William and Mary.

Vaccine inoculation has been successfully introduced by Mr. Jefferson among the Indian tribes; and his exertions have been constantly used to civilize and domesticate them by the arts of husbandry, and the use of agricultural and domestic implements; and to prepare them to receive the humanizing and beneficent principles of religion.

Until lately, Mr. Jefferson possessed a most extensive, rare, and valuable collection of books, in almost every language, and on nearly all subjects; but on the destruction of the library of congress, at Washington, by the British in 1814, he at once proposed, for a moderate price, to transfer the greater portion of his books to the United States, and they accordingly became the property of the nation.

Since his last retirement, in addition to the necessary attention to his agricultural and domestic affairs, at Monticello, where he chiefly resides, and

occasional visits to his other estates, his great reputation has been productive of frequent calls upon portions of his time which ought to have been yielded only to ease and relaxation. The scientific and literary, throughout the union, have looked upon him as their adviser and patron; and have, indeed, seldom failed to gain considerable advantage by their applications. But the increase of his correspondence has, at length, become so enormously great, that although a strict economist of time, he has found it utterly impossible to allow himself a sufficient portion of rest, being obliged to devote five or six hours of every day of his life, merely to the business of answering letters, many of which are, of course, of the most uninteresting character. This kind of labour was justly complained of by general Washington, in a communication to a military friend, soon after the revolutionary war, as compelling him to neglect his private affairs, almost to the ruin of his fortune, and as depriving him of exercise, comfort, and health. Mr. Jefferson, therefore, at a much more advanced age, will be justified in the expression of his desire on this subject, contained in his letter recently published.

In person, Mr. Jefferson is tall and of slender make; his eyes are light, and full of intelligence. The portrait prefixed to this sketch has been considered a faithful likeness. His complexion is fair, and his hair inclining to red; in deportment, if he does not exhibit all the artificial polish of a courtier, he at least displays the ease and grace of a well bred gentleman, and the sweetness of his affability throws a charm about him, which places those who might conceive themselves inferiors, completely at their ease. In conversation, he is free and communicative. All topics that fall under discussion are treated by him with equal unreservedness. He seems, indeed, to have no thought or opinion to conceal, and his stores of knowledge

are unlocked and laid open with the same freedom in which nature unfolds her bounties. They lie before you, and you have only to select and enjoy. In manner, he is frequently pointed, and sometimes energetic, but always mild, and occasionally pleasant, and even facetious. The liberality of his disposition, is felt in blessings around the neighbourhood of Monticello. His benevolence is sometimes imposed upon by the artful, but his knowledge of mankind generally secures him from deception; and the unworthy dread his displeasure the more, as it is seldom witnessed, and never misdirected. He possesses uncommon fortitude and strength of mind, and his personal courage, by those who know him intimately, is said to be of the firmest character. But if any single quality distinguishes him more than another, it is a perfect equanimity of soul which scarcely ever leaves him; and when, for a moment, it does, his command of temper is such, that no disorder is visible. A slight commotion may take place beneath the wave, but the surface remains unruffled. His oldest servants never saw him angry, or even fretful. He points out their faults in the tone of a father, and convinces them of the consequences, with the mildness of a tender preceptor. These facts are derived from a gentleman who received them from the lips of the faithful domestics themselves, while their full eyes confirmed the account they were giving of their *blessed master*, for such was the appellation their love and gratitude bestowed upon him. Domestic calamities of the most touching nature are met by Mr. Jefferson, with the feelings of humanity, indeed, but with a composure and resignation, also, which have even succeeded in soothing and allaying the grief of others.

It is a truth, that he never did, either directly or indirectly, induce the writing or printing of a single word in answer to the many charges exhibited against him. He felt proudly conscious of his innocence, and from the

station where virtue had placed him, could smile with pity on the turbulence that fretted itself beneath his feet. His friends acquiesced, unwillingly, in the restriction imposed upon them, while his enemies affected to see in his silence only the proofs of his guilt or of his pusillanimity. But in this they have mistaken him, as they always have, converting his very virtues into vices. Thus, his republican plainness in dress and manners, has been sneered at as cynical clownishness, and his love of science as a devotion to toys and trifles ; his courage has been called fear, and his friendship hypocrisy.

Few, perhaps, have done more to increase and strengthen the ties which bind social man to man, and yet he has been accused of being a disorganizer, and his efforts to secure to every one permission to worship God according to his conscience, have been stigmatized as atheism. It is deplorable, that a man whom to know is to revere, who is already the admiration of Europe, and who, with posterity, will rank with our Washington and Franklin, and with the ornaments and benefactors of the human race of every age and country, should have been made by his cotemporaries and his countrymen, the object of the vilest slander.

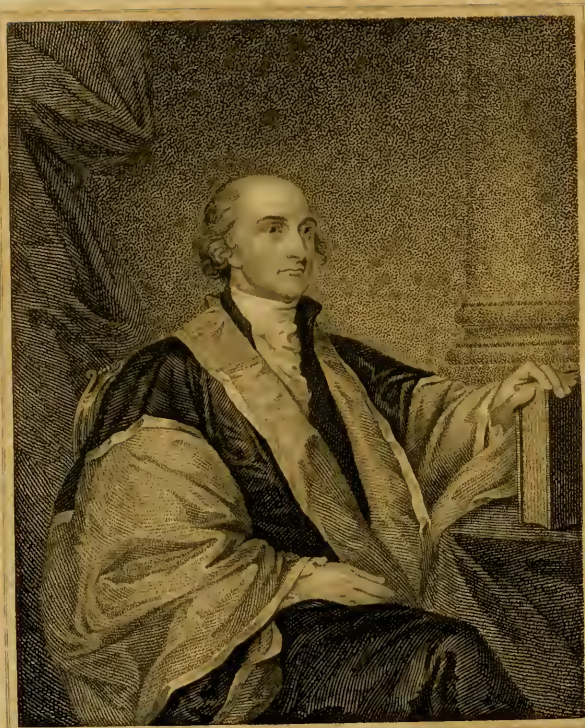
Mr. Jefferson now resides in the midst of his family at his elegant retreat at Monticello ; happy in the consciousness of a well spent life, and, at the age of 74 years, retaining his mental faculties and bodily energies in a remarkable degree. He married on new year's day of 1772, the daughter of Mr. Wayles, an eminent lawyer of Virginia. A few years only of uninterrupted domestic or social intercourse, were enjoyed by him, as public affairs very soon drew him from those circles of which he was the happiness and the pride. In the autumn of the year 1782, he had the misfortune to lose his amiable and gentle partner ; when the charge of two lovely daugh-

ters devolved upon him alone. Of this precious trust he never for a moment lost sight. Their education was conducted under his immediate inspection, and when he went abroad they were his companions. Of those ladies, one was married to John W. Eppes, since so distinguished in public life. Mr. Eppes died, leaving two children, one of whom only at present survives. The other daughter of Mr. Jefferson is the wife of Thomas Mann Randolph, a gentleman of great worth and talents. Mr. Randolph possesses an estate in the vicinity of Monticello, but his family is, generally, a part of that assembled at Monticello, where the venerable Jefferson, while he blesses all around him, is himself blessed by the gratitude and affection of a numerous progeny, extending now to the third generation.



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JOHN JAY ESQ^R

late Chief Justice of the United States

LIFE OF JOHN JAY.

THE ancestors of the illustrious subject of this memoir, were originally from France. His grandfather, Augustus Jay, was one of the three sons of Pierre Jay, an opulent merchant of La Rochelle. Pierre was a Huguenot, and on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, found it necessary to fly from the persecutions which followed. The vessel in which he sailed for England, and her cargo, were all that remained to him of his fortune. During his voyage he had the misfortune to lose one of the two sons who accompanied him in his flight. The other perished in England, of wounds received at the battle of the Boyne, in which engagement he fought under Count Schomberg, in one of the French volunteer regiments. The only daughter of Pierre, was married at Bristol, England, at which place her father had fixed his residence, and where he lived to a good old age.

Augustus, the third son of Pierre, and grandfather of John Jay, had received his education in England. He was absent on a voyage when his family were driven from France. Upon his return, he joined his father in England. Numbers of French emigrants were at this time proceeding to South Carolina, in America; and Augustus embarked for that part of the American continent, but disliking the climate of Carolina, he proceeded along the coast as far north as New York. In this province, he, for a while,

established himself at a town called Esopus, situated on the river Hudson, and was connected in mercantile business with his countryman Mr. L'Hommedieu, from whom the late Ezra L'Hommedieu, a senator of the United States, was a descendant. He afterwards removed to the city of New York, where, in 1697, he married Anne Marie, daughter of Balthazar Bayard. He died much respected, at the advanced age of eighty-five, leaving three daughters, who were all advantageously established in marriage, and one son, Peter, born in 1704, who, in 1728, was united to Mary, daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York. Peter, the father of John Jay, pursued the occupation of his ancestors, until about the year 1746, when he withdrew from business, and retired to his estate at Rye. Here he remained, till the approach of the British army, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, forced him to remove. He lost several of his children in their infancy : five sons and two daughters arrived at maturity. He died at Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, in the year 1782.

JOHN JAY, the son of Peter, was born in the city of New York, on the first day of December 1745, old style. The first rudiments of literature he owed to the care and attention of his estimable mother. At the age of eight years, he was placed at boarding school with the reverend Mr. Stoep, rector of the French episcopal church at New Rochelle, where he commenced the study of the Latin language, and remained about two years. He was then taken home to receive instruction from a Mr. Murray, who was employed as private tutor to him and his brothers. When he had attained the age of fourteen years, he was sent to King's (now Columbia) college, then lately founded in the city of New York. Dr. Johnson was, at that time, president of the college ; and he was succeeded by Dr. Cooper. Both of these gentlemen were accomplished scholars. The latter excelled in belles

lettres, and was very successful in teaching those under his care the art of composition. Mr. Jay had, at an early period, determined to apply himself to the law, and, therefore, paid particular attention to those branches of education which he thought most important to that profession. He became an excellent Latin scholar, and read Grotius with professor Cutting. He had, from his infancy, been unable to pronounce certain letters; and acquired, besides, a habit of reading in so hurried a manner, as to be almost unintelligible. By application and perseverance he subdued both these imperfections.

After taking his bachelor's degree, he studied law with Mr. Kissam; and, about the year 1768, was admitted to the bar.

In the year 1774, Mr. Jay married Sarah Livingston, the daughter of that distinguished and revered patriot, William Livingston, afterwards governor of New Jersey. He had by this time attained to great and deserved reputation as a lawyer, and was employed in the most important causes, not only in New York, but in the adjacent provinces of Connecticut and New Jersey. He began, also, to be looked up to by his fellow citizens, as one who was to direct and guide them through the dark and stormy hour which seemed approaching. The American revolution found him at an age, and with feelings and talents, to render him an ardent and able supporter of his country's rights, and a fit and worthy successor to his father, whose age and infirmities forbade him to take that part in the events of the time, to which he was prompted by inclination. Mr. Jay commenced his political career at a point which was justly considered the honourable goal of many an older patriot's ambition. He was selected in the year 1774, by the citizens of New York, as one of their delegates to the first American congress;—that congress of which to have been a member is a sufficient title to the gratitude

of Americans. In this year, he was placed on a committee with Mr. Lee and Mr. Livingston, to draft an address to the people of Great Britain; and the eloquent production they reported has been generally attributed to Mr. Jay. In the two following years he was re-elected; and was a member of several of those committees, whose reports reflect so much credit and honour on the talents and patriotism of their authors. In 1776, he was chosen president of congress.

In 1777, he was a member of the convention which framed the constitution of New York, and made the first draft of that instrument.

Upon the organization of the government of New York, in 1778, he was appointed chief justice of that state. In the succeeding year he was again a member of the general congress; and, while president of that august body, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Spain. On accepting this mission he resigned the chair of congress, in which he was succeeded by Samuel Huntingdon.

He left the United States, in the American frigate *Confederacy*, accompanied by M. Gerard the French minister, who was on his return home. In consequence of the loss of her bowsprit and all her masts, in a gale of wind, off the banks of Newfoundland, the frigate was compelled to steer for Martinique, where she arrived in a very disabled state, on the 19th December 1779. At Martinique, the French government supplied them with the French frigate *Aurora*, in which they proceeded to Cadiz.

The objects which congress had in view in this mission, were to obtain from Spain an acknowledgment of our independence, to form a treaty of alliance, and to procure pecuniary aid. On the two first points, the Spanish minister, by various acts of procrastination, delayed coming to any conclusion. Among other obstacles which he threw in the way to the formation of

a treaty, were the new pretensions, as he termed them, of the United States, to the navigation of the Mississippi, from the point where it leaves the territory of the United States, to the sea. Mr. Jay had entertained hopes of bringing Spain to some equitable arrangement on this head, but, unfortunately, congress had, on the 15th February 1781, passed a resolution, permitting him to yield the navigation of this river; and, although this resolution had been made with closed doors, Mr. Jay could not but conclude, from the conduct of Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, that he was acquainted with it; and, therefore, thought it useless to delay making the proposition. He made it, accordingly, but limited the offer to the present time, apprizing the Spanish minister, that if a treaty were not concluded with Spain until a general peace took place, the government of the United States would not consider themselves bound to conform to the terms of this proposition.

As the influence of France was then generally supposed to be very powerful at the court of Madrid, it seemed extraordinary that the latter should refuse to acknowledge our independence, at a time when it had already been acknowledged by the French government. In the spring of 1782, Mr. Jay communicated to congress his suspicions, that the policy of France interfered to prevent the accomplishment of this part of the object of his mission: and his belief seems to have been confirmed by subsequent events.

Early in the summer of 1782, he was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate a peace with England, and was authorized to continue the negotiation with Spain. Count de Aranda, the Spanish ambassador at the French court, being empowered to conduct it on the part of his own country.

It may be proper to finish here the account of Spanish affairs, before entering upon those of France and Great Britain.

The Count de Aranda having inquired of Mr. Jay concerning his knowledge of the boundary lines of the United States, Mr. Jay replied, that the boundary between the United States and the Spanish dominions, was a line drawn from the head of the Mississippi, through the middle thereof, to the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and from thence to the boundary line between Florida and Georgia. The Count objected to this boundary. He said the western country had never been claimed by us, and if that country did not belong entirely to Spain, the parts of it not subjected to that crown, belonged to the independent nations of Indians. Mr. Jay desired the count to trace, on a map, the boundary claimed by Spain, which he did. This line ran from the confines of Georgia to the confluence of the Kanhawa river with the Ohio, then around the western shores of lake Erie and Huron, and thence around lake Michigan to lake Superior. On this subject Mr. Jay consulted Dr. Franklin, who was not joined with him in this negotiation, but who agreed with him, that the Mississippi ought to be insisted on as a boundary, and Mr. Jay gave Count de Aranda to understand, that such was our boundary, and that he had no authority to cede any territory east of it. At this interview with the Spanish minister, Mr. Jay exhibited his commission, and, as usual, delivered a copy of it. Count de Aranda, however, did not produce his. To have done so, would have been a tacit acknowledgment of our independence, which he was not authorized by his court to make. Finding that the omission on the part of the Count de Aranda, was intentional, Mr. Jay declined any further negotiation with him. In the beginning of September, things being in this situation, Mr. Jay was invited to a con-

ference with M. De Rayneval, secretary to the Count de Vergennes, the prime minister of France, who entered into a discussion of our claims to the western countries, and the next day, sent Mr. Jay a memoir on the subject, enclosed in a letter, urging him to treat with the Spanish minister without waiting to see his powers. The memoir was entitled "Ideas on the manner of determining and fixing the limits between Spain and the United States on the Ohio and Mississippi." The memoir asserts that the United States had no claims to the western country, except those derived through Great Britain; and then endeavours to prove, that Great Britain never had any claims to it. It goes on to state, that, with regard to the lands situated to the northward of the Ohio, their fate would have to be decided by the court of London. At this time Mr. Jay wrote to congress, expressing his conviction, that the French court, would, at a peace, oppose the extension of our boundary to the Mississippi, and our claim to the navigation of that river; that they would probably support the British claim to all the country above the thirty-first degree of latitude, and certainly to all the country north of the Ohio; and unless we would consent to divide our territories with Spain, that France would aid her in negotiating with Great Britain for the territory she wanted, and agree that the residue should remain to the last mentioned power. Mr. Jay then wrote to the Count de Aranda, that he was not authorized to make cessions of territory, but had full powers to conclude a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance with Spain. The Count replied, that he possessed sufficient powers to treat and to confer, and was ready to proceed. About a fortnight afterwards, he met the Count de Aranda at the house of the Count de Vergennes. The Spanish minister asked, when they should proceed to business; Mr. Jay replied, whenever he communicated his powers to treat. Count de Aranda inquired whether Count

Florida Blanca, former minister of Spain, had not informed him that he, the Count de Aranda, was authorized to treat. Mr. Jay admitted the fact, but insisted that it was proper, in conformity to custom, to exchange copies of commissions. Count de Aranda then said that this could not be expected in the present case, as Spain had not acknowledged our independence. Count de Vergennes here interposed, and observed, that Mr. Jay ought certainly to treat with the Spanish minister; but this Mr. Jay positively declined doing. After the departure of the Spanish minister, the Count de Vergennes entered upon the subject of boundaries. Mr. Jay remarked, that the objection of Spain to our extension to the Mississippi, was of recent origin; for, at the time he was in Spain, Count Florida Blanca gave him to understand, that the success of his negotiation depended on his ceding to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi, which would be idle, if our territory did not extend to it. The Count only smiled, and said, he hoped Mr. Jay and the Spanish minister would finally agree. In a subsequent conference with M. De Rayneval, Mr. Jay having urged the recency of the Spanish claims; M. De Rayneval observed, that it was owing to the ignorance of Count Florida Blanca.

After the preliminary articles of peace with England were signed and ratified, the Spanish minister informed Mr. Jay that his court was ready to receive him in form, and was desirous that he should return to Madrid and complete the treaty. Mr. Jay, however, did not return.

In dismissing this subject, it may be right to add, that, notwithstanding the unpleasantness of the situation in which Mr. Jay and the Count de Aranda were placed as diplomatists, they mutually entertained great respect and esteem for each other. Mr. Jay thought the Count the most able Spaniard he had ever met with, and the latter, on taking leave of Mr. Jay,

could not avoid complimenting him on his management of the negotiation committed to him.

We may now follow the negotiator in concluding the treaty of peace. Mr. Jay arrived in Paris the 23d of June 1782. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens were joined with him in commission. Mr. Laurens did not arrive until after the signature of the preliminary articles. Mr. Adams arrived the 26th of October 1782.

Mr. Oswald was the minister appointed by England to treat with the United States.

On the 25th of July 1782, a warrant was issued by the king of Great Britain, addressed to his attorney general, directing him to prepare a commission to Mr. Oswald, empowering him, in consequence of the act of parliament, entitled, "An act to enable his majesty to conclude a peace or truce with certain colonies in North America therein mentioned,"—"to treat, consult of, and conclude, with any commissioner or commissioners, named or to be named by the said colonies or plantations; or any body or bodies corporate or politic, or any assembly or assemblies, or description of men, or any person or persons whatever, a peace or truce with the said colonies or plantations, or any part or parts thereof."

A copy of this paper was given by Mr. Oswald to Dr. Franklin, who, after showing it to Mr. Jay, sent it to the Count de Vergennes. The Count invited Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay to a conference, which they attended, on the 10th of August. The Count then stated, that he thought they might proceed to treat with Mr. Oswald on seeing the original commission; that the powers were such as might be expected. Mr. Jay remarked, that it would be descending from the ground of independence, to treat under the description of colonies. The Count replied, that names were of little im-

portance, and that the acknowledgment of our independence, could not reasonably be expected to precede the treaty. Dr. Franklin referred to their instructions as a reason for conforming to the Count's advice. By these instructions, it appeared that they were to follow, in all things, the advice of Count de Vergennes, and to do nothing without acquainting him with their intentions. Mr. Jay received these injunctions with great pain; and wrote on the occasion to congress, that while he accepted the appointment, in order to prevent the embarrassments and delays which his refusal might occasion, he begged them soon to relieve him from a station, where, with the character of their minister, he must receive and obey, under the name of opinions, the directions of those on whom no American minister ought to be dependent, and to whom, in love to their country and zeal in her service, he and his colleagues were, at least, equal.

Lord Shelburn had, previously to the arrival of Mr. Oswald, communicated to Dr. Franklin, as a proof of the disposition of the British government, an extract of certain instructions to Sir Guy Carleton, dated 25th of June 1782, in which Sir Guy is informed that the king had commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, "That the independence of America, should be proposed by him, in the first instance, instead of its being made the condition of a general peace."

Mr. Jay had now a private conference with Mr. Oswald, and pointed out to him the inconsistency of the terms of his commission with the declaration in the above extract; and explained the injurious consequences which would result to Great Britain, from a refusal on her part to acknowledge our independence. Mr. Oswald acquiesced in these observations, and desired Mr. Jay to draft a commission which would satisfy him, and yet be consistent with the honour of the king. Mr. Jay, accordingly, drew such a

commission, which, after submitting to Dr. Franklin, he gave to Mr. Oswald, who approved it, and promised to recommend it. The next day, Mr. Oswald showed Mr. Jay an article of his instructions, authorizing him to acknowledge the independence of the United States, if the American commissioners were not at liberty to treat on any other terms : but he thought it best to obtain the previous consent of the ministry, and despatched a courier to England for that purpose.

At this time, the original commission had arrived, and Mr. Jay and Dr. Franklin waited on the Count de Vergennes to communicate that circumstance to him, agreeably to a part of their instructions, and also to let him know what had passed between them and Mr. Oswald. The Count and Mr. Jay, had an argument again about the necessity of a previous acknowledgment of independence, each maintaining the opinion he had formerly advanced.

Mr. Fitzherbert, who was the English minister to France, had a conference with Count de Vergennes the next day, and immediately after, despatched a messenger to London.

Mr. Oswald received an answer to his despatch, dated 1st September 1782: and showed it to Mr. Jay. It approved Mr. Oswald's conduct in exhibiting the extract from his instructions, and expressed a hope that the American commissioners would no longer doubt the intention of the king to grant to America unconditional independence *as an article of treaty*.

Mr. Jay observed to Mr. Oswald, that the language of the letter was so inconsistent with the instructions to Sir Guy Carleton, and corresponded so exactly with that held by the Count de Vergennes, that he must attribute it to Mr. Fitzherbert's courier. Mr. Oswald acknowledged that the Count de Vergennes had told Mr. Fitzherbert, that his, Mr. Oswald's commission,

had come, and that *it would do*, and Mr. Oswald did not deny the justness of Mr. Jay's inference; that Mr. Fitzherbert, finding the French court so moderate, had thought it his duty to inform his government of the fact, to prevent its embarrassment by the scruples of the American commissioners. Mr. Jay then explained to Mr. Oswald, the policy of the French court, and pointed out to him the interest of Great Britain in preventing the United States from becoming dependent on France; observing, that a new commission, authorizing him to treat with the commissioners of the United States of America, would remove their present objections to treating with him. At the request of Mr. Oswald, Mr. Jay put this proposition in writing. Mr. Oswald desired Mr. Jay, also, to give him his final answer, refusing to treat previously to an actual acknowledgment of independence. Mr. Jay, therefore, prepared a letter to Mr. Oswald, positively refusing to treat, excepting on the ground of acknowledged independence, and assigning the reasons of this determination. The letter was submitted to Dr. Franklin, who disapproved it, and, consequently, as a formal paper, it was not sent. But at Mr. Oswald's request, Mr. Jay gave him the draft unsigned. This was not communicated to the Count de Vergennes.

On the 10th September, 1782, Mr. Jay obtained a copy of a letter from M. Marbois, the French minister in the United States, to the Count de Vergennes, which Mr. Jay sent to congress. It was dated at Philadelphia, 13th March 1782, and stated, that Mr. Samuel Adams was endeavouring to excite in Massachusetts an opposition to peace, if the eastern states were not, by the treaty, admitted to the fisheries. To defeat these efforts of Mr. Adams, M. Marbois proposed that the king of France should cause to be signified to congress, his surprise that the subject of the Newfoundland fisheries should have been included in the additional instructions to the

American commissioners; and that the United States set forth their pretensions without paying regard to the king's rights. He also proposed that the king should promise congress his assistance to secure for them the other fisheries, but without being answerable for his success; intimating that it was important that this declaration should now be made, since it would be less easy to prevail upon the United States, when they should recover the important posts of New York, Charleston, and Penobscot.

Mr. Jay concluded his communication, by assuring congress that his name should not be seen to a bad treaty, or to any one that did not secure the fisheries.

On the 10th September 1782, Mr. Jay received information, that the Count de Aranda had, that morning, a conference with the Count de Vergennes and M. De Rayneval; immediately after which, the latter set off for England. From all the facts which came to Mr. Jay's knowledge, he was led to believe that the objects of M. De Rayneval's mission to London were,

1. To let the British ministry know, that France did not support the American commissioners in their demand of a previous acknowledgment of independence.

2. To discover whether Great Britain would divide the fisheries with France.

3. To apprise the ministry of the determination of Spain to possess the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and to suggest the expediency of such a boundary line as would satisfy Spain, and leave to Great Britain the country north of the Ohio.

4. To ascertain whether peace could be concluded on terms agreeable to France, in order that the negotiation might be stopped if it could not.

Mr. Jay informed Mr. Oswald of M. De Rayneval's journey, and stated the three first probable objects of his mission. In order to counteract the designs of M. De Rayneval, Mr. Jay prevailed upon a very respectable English gentleman, who was attached to the American cause, and intimate with Lord Shelburn, to go immediately to London for the purpose of conferring with the ministry. To this gentleman he stated at large, the various considerations which should induce Great Britain to acknowledge our independence;—to allow us the fisheries, and to refrain from opposing our extension to the Mississippi, or our navigation of that river. This gentleman set out for London on the 11th September.

These steps were taken without consulting Dr. Franklin, who differed from Mr. Jay in opinion relating to M. De Rayneval's journey, and who felt himself bound by his instructions.

On the 24th September 1782, Mr. Jay was informed of the intention of the British court to give Mr. Oswald a new commission, and such a one as had been recommended. On the 27th September, the new commission arrived. A draft of preliminary articles was soon made out. The preamble stated them to be articles agreed on by the American and British commissioners, but added, that the treaty was not to be concluded until Great Britain and France had also agreed on terms of a treaty. The first article acknowledges the thirteen United States to be independent, and describes their boundaries.

The second article provides for the suspension of hostilities on the conclusion of the proposed treaty.

The third article secures to Great Britain and the United States, the privileges, with regard to the fisheries, enjoyed by the subjects of each, before the last war, between France and Great Britain.

The fourth article declares that the navigation of the Mississippi shall forever be free, from its source to the ocean; and, that in all ports of Great Britain and the United States, the merchant ships of those powers shall enjoy reciprocal protection and privileges. These articles were not submitted to Count de Vergennes.

On the 23d October, Mr. Oswald received a letter from the British minister, telling him, that the extent of our boundaries and the situation of the loyalists, caused some objection, and that his secretary was on his way to confer with the commissioners. On the following day, in a conference between Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and M. De Rayneval, the latter inquired as to the state of affairs with Mr. Oswald. He was told, that difficulties had arisen on the subject of boundaries, and that the British minister's secretary was coming over to confer with them. He asked what boundaries they claimed, and on being informed, he denied our right to such an extent to the north. He asked what they had demanded as to the fisheries? They told him, a right to them, in common with Great Britain. He said we should not claim more than a *coast fishery*.

The negotiation was in this state, when, on the 26th of October 1782, Mr. Adams arrived at Paris; and, on the 30th of November following, the preliminary articles were signed.

Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay concurred on every point, and co-operated with the utmost cordiality. They resolved to consult the Count de Vergennes no longer, and he knew nothing of their having agreed with the British minister till they showed him the treaty already signed. Since the United States were only bound, by their treaty with France, to continue the war until their independence should be acknowledged by Great Britain, and since the preliminary articles were only to be valid in case of a peace be-

tween Great Britain and France, the latter had nothing to complain of. But the French court never forgot nor forgave the conduct of Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams.

During this negotiation, Mr. Jay had been seriously unwell, and was advised by his physicians, to go either to Bath or to Spa. He went to Bath, and the use of the water there, restored his health.

In May, 1783, Mr. Jay wrote to congress requesting that he might not be considered a candidate for the situation of minister to Great Britain, and strongly advised the appointment of Mr. John Adams. In September of the same year, the definitive treaty was signed, and Mr. Jay determined to resign his commission, as minister to Spain, and to return to his own country. He, accordingly, left Paris in May 1784, and on the 24th July arrived at New York.

He was now placed at the head of the department for foreign affairs, in which office he continued till the adoption of the present constitution, and the organization of the government under it, when he was appointed chief justice of the United States. In the mean time, he was a member of the convention of the state of New York which adopted the constitution, and one of those to whom that measure is chiefly to be attributed.

In the year 1787, the culpable rashness of some young surgeons in disinterring dead bodies as subjects for dissection, produced a very alarming riot in the city of New York, and the young men were compelled to take refuge from the violence of the populace in the city prison. A large number of persons collected for the purpose of forcing them from that asylum and inflicting summary punishment. Some militia who had been ordered out, showed an indisposition to act against a portion of their fellow citizens, and as the police seemed inadequate to maintain the peace of the city, serious

consequences began to be apprehended. Mr. Jay, with several other respectable inhabitants, among whom was colonel Hamilton, volunteered his services on this occasion. While they were drawn up in a body near the prison, under the orders of colonel Hamilton, they were violently assailed with a volley of stones, from one of which Mr. Jay received a dangerous wound in the forehead, which confined him to his bed for a long time after. It is known, that it was owing to this accident that he was obliged to discontinue writing for the *Federalist*, which Mr. Madison and colonel Hamilton were then publishing, and to which Mr. Jay had promised to contribute. He had written the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th numbers, when he was thus rendered incapable of affording any further assistance for some time. He recovered, however, sufficiently, to write the 64th number, on the treaty making powers; a subject with which he was very conversant.

In the year 1794, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, and signed the treaty which has since borne his name. Upon his return in 1795, he found himself elected to the office of governor of the state of New York, which he held until the year 1801, when, declining a re-election, as governor, and the situation also of chief justice of the supreme court of the United States to which he was appointed, and no longer a candidate for honours or emoluments, both of which he had so largely shared, he retired from public life.

He had the misfortune, in 1802, to lose his amiable partner, and has since resided altogether on his farm at Bedford, in the state of New York, secluded from the world and its concerns.

The children of Mr. Jay, still living, are Peter Augustus Jay, William Jay, Mrs. Maria Banyer, widow of the late Goldsborough Banyer, jun. Ann Jay, and Sarah Louisa Jay.

In person, Mr. Jay is tall and of slender make; with limbs delicate and well proportioned, and a countenance indicative of the highest degree of intelligence. The picture of him by Stuart, from which the accompanying portrait is engraved, is a strong likeness.

It would be difficult to point out a character in modern times more nearly allied to the Aristides drawn by Plutarch, than that of John Jay. Justice, stern and inflexible, holds the first place in his exalted mind. Cautious on topics of moment to strangers, he is frank and affable on all occasions with his friends. He is economical in his expenses, but generous, both in the magnitude of the gift and the manner of bestowing it, when once convinced that the object is worthy of his bounty. His favourite maxim, "steadily to follow whenever duty leads, without being deterred by dangers or evils of any kind whatever," has never for a moment ceased to guide and direct him through a long and active life. Upon particular exigencies, he has been known to evince the most undaunted personal courage. A just and virtuous pride has ever pervaded all his sentiments, and imparted a dignity to all his conduct. That he possessed a high place in the confidence and esteem of Washington, may be seen by the extracts of letters that passed between them, and which may be found in the fifth volume of Marshall's history.

This sketch of Mr. Jay would be defective of its most prominent feature, were it omitted to be added, that the subject of it has ever been in an eminent degree devoted to the interests of religion; professing the doctrines of Christianity, and observing, scrupulously, its precepts.

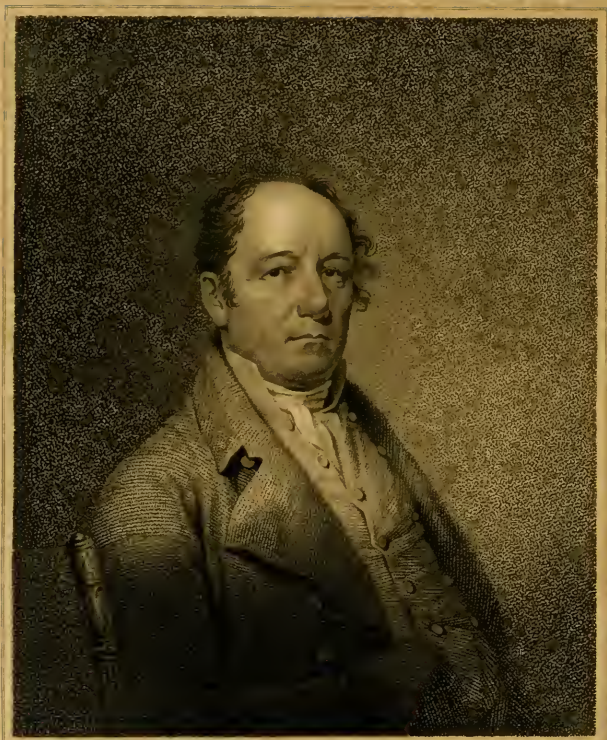
An historian of our own times, who knew him well, speaking of his appointment to the office of chief justice of the United States, says, "from the commencement of the revolution to the present moment, 1789, this gentleman has filled a large space in the public mind; remaining without inter-

mission in the service of his country, he had passed through a succession of high offices, and in all of them had merited the approbation of his fellow citizens. To his pen, while in congress, was America indebted for some of those masterly addresses which reflect such high honour upon the government;—to his firmness and penetration, were, in no inconsiderable degree, to be ascribed, those intricate negotiations which were conducted, with such success, towards the close of the war, both at Madrid and Paris. On his returning to the United States, he had been appointed secretary of foreign affairs, in which station he had conducted himself with his accustomed ability. A sound judgment improved by extensive reading, and great knowledge of public affairs, unyielding firmness, and inflexible integrity, were qualities of which Mr. Jay has given frequent and signal proofs.”

THE HISTORY OF THE



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RUFUS KING ESQ.

LIFE OF RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING is the eldest son of Richard King, a merchant of Scarborough, in the district of Maine, and was born in the year 1755. Having received a good school education, he was sent, at between twelve and thirteen years of age, to Byfield academy, in the town of Newbury, and placed under the care of its excellent classical teacher, Samuel Moody; who, in many respects, is said to have resembled the celebrated Busby. Under the severe discipline for which this eminent instructor was noted, he finished his academical studies; and was, in the year 1773, admitted into Harvard college. Soon after his matriculation at Cambridge, he was deprived of his father, who died at Scarborough, leaving to his numerous family a very considerable property. In the year 1775, on the breaking out of the war of independence, the college became the barracks of the American troops, and the students were, for the time, dispersed. In the autumn of the same year, however, they re-assembled at Concord, a village about eighteen miles distant from Cambridge, where their collegiate course was resumed and prosecuted, until the evacuation of Boston by the English army in 1776, and the removal of the American troops from the colleges in the following year, when the students returned to Cambridge. During this interval, Mr. King pursued his studies, with his old master, at Byfield. In 1777, he received the

honours of the college, having acquired great reputation for his classical attainments, and more especially, for his extraordinary powers of oratory; an accomplishment in which he was particularly desirous to excel, and to the acquisition of which he applied himself with the passion of an enthusiast. From Cambridge he went immediately to Newburyport, and entered as a student of law in the office of the celebrated Theophilus Parsons, late chief justice of Massachusetts, with whom he completed his studies, and was admitted to the bar in 1780. While he was yet a student, however, in the year 1778, he had an opportunity of displaying his ardour and alacrity in the cause of his country, and was one of those volunteers who joined general Sullivan, to whom Mr. King was appointed an aid, in his enterprise with Count D'Estaing against the British in Rhode Island.

In the first cause in which Mr. King made his appearance at the bar, he had for an adversary his great instructor, Parsons. This circumstance, far from depressing him, seems to have called forth his best efforts, and he exhibited, at that time, such evidence of talents, both as a lawyer and a speaker, that immediate and confident predictions were made of his future eminence. One who was present on that occasion told the writer of this sketch, that the effect of his address upon the court, the bar, and the auditory, was electrifying. He was chosen, soon after, to represent the town of Newburyport in the state legislature, or, as it is called, the general court of Massachusetts, in which he was soon distinguished for his abilities. About the year 1784, congress recommended to the several states to grant to the general government, a five per cent. impost. The proposition met with much opposition in the general court. A distinction immediately arose between the federal and state interest. Those members who were adverse to the grant, being classed as friends of the states, those in favour of it, as the

friends of the general government. The leader of the latter party, on this occasion, was the late governor of Massachusetts, Sullivan, then the most popular speaker in the house; of the former, Mr. King. The debate was in the highest degree interesting, and after being protracted for several days, terminated in the triumph of those who voted with Mr. King. Of the merits of the controversy, however, we forbear to speak: for it would necessarily lead us into too wide a discussion, to be enabled to ascertain the precise point at which state jealousies became unreasonable. But Mr. King was then in the season of warm and ingenuous youth, and if, in this instance, he did not take the better side, it may be safely asserted, that, at least, his choice was made from pure and proper feeling.

In the same year, he was elected, by an almost unanimous vote of the legislature, as a delegate to the old congress, although he had not, by several years, attained the age, at which, consistently with the usages of the state, he could expect that distinction. The congress were then in session at Trenton, where he took his seat as a member of that body. Towards the close of the year, they adjourned to meet at New York.

In 1785 and 1786, he was re-elected to congress. About this time, he and Mr. Monroe were sent to the legislature of Pennsylvania, to remonstrate, on behalf of congress, against certain measures which that state had recently adopted. The requisitions of contribution from the several states, had all been complied with; but yet, owing to the poverty of the national treasury, the public creditors were disappointed, by not receiving their dues; and such of them as belonged to those states which were the most punctual in their payments, complained that claimants from the states which paid little or nothing, obtained money from the government, while their claims were totally disregarded. In this disorder of the finances, Pennsylvania,

whose payments had been made with more regularity than those of some other states, adopted certain resolutions in her legislature by which her quota to the general treasury was to be applied to those public creditors who might reside within that state, instead of being turned over to be disposed of according to the discretion of the general government.

Against this procedure, congress resolved to remonstrate to the Pennsylvania legislature, then consisting of a single house, and for this purpose, selected two of their own members, Mr. King and Mr. Monroe. When the day arrived on which these gentlemen were to speak, the hall of the Pennsylvania assembly was thrown open and soon crowded to overflow; so highly was the public curiosity and expectation excited by the novelty of the occurrence, and the distinguished characters of the deputies. Mr. King being first named in the commission, seemed entitled to claim precedence, and was, therefore, to open the business of their mission. Amidst the immense concourse present, all was silent and breathless anxiety, when Mr. King arose to deliver his address. But he had scarcely left his chair, before his thoughts became scattered, his ideas vanished, and his tongue refused utterance—

“Steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit.”

Confused and mortified, he had barely sufficient presence of mind to turn to Mr. Monroe, who was sitting beside him, and request him to take his place. His colleague commenced with his usual self-possession and ability, and soon engaged the attention of the audience. In the mean time Mr. King rallied his powers, recalled and arranged his disordered ideas, and became composed. When Mr. Monroe finished, he rose again, and, converting the untoward occurrence into an occasion of bestowing a well turned compliment

on his audience, in whose august presence, he said, it was not surprising that he should feel an awe which bereft him, for a moment, of his faculties, proceeded in one of the most elegant and masterly speeches ever heard. A similar accident once happened to general Hamilton, in the celebrated Spanish cause, which was tried in New York in the year 1794; the first in which he was engaged after his return to the bar.

In 1787, Mr. King was appointed, by the legislature of Massachusetts, a delegate to the general convention held at Philadelphia, and he bore a large share in the discussion and formation of our present system of government. He attended during the whole session of the convention, and was one of the committee appointed by that body to prepare and report the final draft of the constitution of the United States. That instrument having been reported by the convention to congress, and by them referred to the consideration of the several states for ratification, Mr. King was chosen, by his old constituents of Newburyport, a member of that convention. In the mixed assemblage which composed this body, among a number of men of strong and ardent feelings, but whose minds were filled with preconceived opinions, difficult to eradicate, there were also found some distinguished for their talents; among whom were Parsons, Ames, Strong, and King. It was on this occasion, that Mr. Ames first rendered himself conspicuous as a popular speaker, and gave testimony of the ability which was one day to lead him to eminence. He and Mr. King took the lead in the convention; the former sustaining his established character as a learned statesman and an accomplished orator; the latter appearing under the plain and simple manners of a farmer, without the use of a single gesture. Every day they made converts, and became more popular, until, at last, the question was carried

against the declared determination of those who came there for the express purpose of defeating it.

In 1784, when Mr. King took his seat in congress, he renounced, for ever, his professional occupation. About two years after, in 1786, he married Miss Alsop, the only child of John Alsop, an opulent merchant, and one of the delegates of New York in the first continental congress; and in the year 1788, he removed from Massachusetts to the city of New York. In 1789, he was chosen by the city, one of the members of the legislature, and, during its extra session, in the summer of that year, he and general Schuyler were elected the first senators from the state, under the constitution of the United States.

In 1794, when the British treaty was promulgated, and the nation was thrown into a violent ferment by the conflict of opinion on its nature and provisions, Mr. King appeared by the side of his friend general Hamilton, at a meeting of the citizens which had been called in the public street, to explain and defend it. But they were not permitted by the people to proceed in their harangue, and they retired, reserving the explanations they might have to offer, to be conveyed through the medium of the press. A series of papers was, accordingly, commenced, under the signature of Camillus; of which, those relative to the permanent articles of the treaty, the ten first numbers, were written by general Hamilton, and the remainder, those concerning the commercial and maritime articles, by Mr. King. But, at that period, they were all supposed to be from the pen of the former; nor was it till several years after, that the contrary was made known, and the information then came from general Hamilton himself. In these masterly papers there is discovered a depth of research, and an acquaintance with the various

treaties and laws of different nations on the subjects of navigation, trade, and maritime law, which render them of inestimable value to those who are desirous to attain a knowledge of these intricate subjects.

About this period, Albert Gallatin being chosen by Pennsylvania, a senator of the United States, a petition was presented from some of the citizens, against his being permitted to take his seat, in which it was alleged that he was not legally qualified by having been a citizen of the United States a sufficient number of years. Owing to the various modes of naturalization adopted by different states, the question was involved in some obscurity, and, besides, was one of the highest importance. A warm and lengthened controversy arose in the Senate, in which the ablest men of both parties engaged. Among those who opposed the petition, and maintained the right of the returned member to his seat, were John Taylor of Virginia, Mr. Monroe, and Mr. Burr; on the other side, were Ellsworth, Strong, King, and their political friends; and to Mr. King it was assigned to answer Mr. Burr, if he should take part in the debate; otherwise he was not to speak. Mr. Burr did not rise to address the chair until the president had proceeded half way in putting the question; he then commenced and went through a discourse of considerable ingenuity. When he had finished, Mr. King immediately replied; and is said to have displayed his talents as an orator, more powerfully than on any occasion during his whole life. An able judge of eloquence, and one of the first men of our country, represents the exhibition as transcending any thing that modern, if not ancient times, ever produced. He says, the orator worked himself up into such a fervour, that he leapt from the floor, and that, extravagant as this action may now appear, it was no more then, than "the action suited to the word." The debate resulted in Mr. Gallatin's exclusion from his seat. Of late years, it

has been observed, that Mr. King has, with few exceptions, chastised the ardour of his public discourses, and has made the animation of his manner give place to a more calm and dignified moderation.

After the expiration of his first term of service, he was re-elected, and, in the spring of 1796, while yet in congress, was appointed by president Washington, minister plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain. Before this appointment, the department of state had been offered to him, as successor to Mr. Randolph.

Mr. King represented the United States at the English court, during the last year of president Washington's administration, the whole of that of Mr. Adams, and for two years of that of Mr. Jefferson, with equal honour and advantage to his country, and credit to himself. While abroad, few foreigners lived on more intimate terms with the public men of the day, as well those in administration as the opposition. He frequented the society of literary men, and has since maintained a correspondence with some of the most distinguished civilians of the old world. After an absence of seven years, he resigned his mission, and returned home in 1803.

In 1808, he removed from the city of New York to his farm at Jamaica, Long Island, where he has since resided, respected and beloved by all who know him, and enjoying every blessing that health, ease, and opulence can bestow.

In 1813, he was again chosen by the legislature of New York, a senator of the United States. The nation was, at that time, at war with Great Britain, and it ought to be recorded to the eternal honour of Mr. King, that he was one of those whom no habit of opposition to administration, and no arbitrary classification or supposed claims of party could induce to a forgetfulness, that the United States was his country; and, that the rights and

the honour of that country he ought to support and maintain. It has been observed, that the conduct of the enemy exhibited in their destruction of Washington, tended to unite all parties in America. The speech of Mr. King in the senate, on this occasion, while it may compare with any of his former efforts, in eloquence, has the rare and enviable distinction of being approved and applauded for its sentiments also, by the entire nation.

In 1816, while he was attending his duties at Washington, and without his knowledge, he was unanimously nominated, by a convention of delegates from the several counties of the state, a candidate for the office of governor of New York. With reluctance, and after much solicitation, he acquiesced in the nomination. The result, however, was unfavourable to the expectations of his friends, and he still continues to fill, with undiminished esteem and applause, his situation in the senate of the United States.

Mr. King, although he has passed the sixty-first year of his age, enjoys, in an uncommon degree, the blessings of a hale constitution, unimpaired by sickness or excesses : and his love of retirement, combined with a taste for elegant literature, which an extensive and well chosen library enables him to indulge, and a well cultivated taste for botany and agricultural pursuits, have led him to exchange the feverish tumult and enervating routine of cities, for the healthy activity and rational pleasures of a country life. In person he is rather above the middle size ; perfectly symmetrical, but somewhat athletic. His countenance is manly, and bespeaks intelligence of the first order. The portrait prefixed gives an uncommonly near resemblance. He possesses naturally a cheerful disposition, with a large portion of sensibility, and much generosity of character. His self command is so perfect, that he is very seldom, if indeed ever, thrown off his guard, either in debate, or in discourse ; by open attack or ensnaring artifices. On subjects of real im-

portance, he bestows much time and thought, and does not decide, until after a thorough investigation : but when his mind is settled, his judgment is irrevocable. At times, his manner is strongly marked with reservedness ; by which is not meant a want of frankness, for no man has more of that quality, but the absence of those lively sallies of humour and pleasantry, which, on other occasions, display themselves in his conversation. By assiduous study, he has acquired large funds of information on almost every subject. His conversation and writings are remarkable for conciseness, force, and simplicity. A constant adherence to the point, and an attentive pursuit of the thread of his argument, leave no opportunity for excursions in search of a figure of rhetoric which might not adorn, and could not illustrate. And this habit of closeness in reasoning, gives a general character to his style which prevents him from being diffuse, even in familiar narrative.

Mr. King was the intimate friend, both personal and political, of Hamilton. With that great man he was many years in habits of unreserved familiarity, and it is asserted, on the testimony of several of his friends now living, that Hamilton considered Mr. King, not only the most finished orator amongst the moderns, but conceived him to possess a capacity better qualified to take a wide and comprehensive view of his subject, and of judging correctly of results, than any other American.

For his speeches, however great or interesting the occasion, he makes no verbal preparation. Having studied his subject well, and made himself familiar with it in all its bearings, he trusts entirely to the immediate resources of his mind to supply him with words, which never fail to flow in a steady and copious stream.

In fine, as a profound statesman, intimately conversant with the laws

and constitution of his country, and familiarly acquainted with its various interests, foreign and domestic;—as a civilian, well read in the laws of nations;—as an erudite classical scholar, both in ancient and modern literature;—as an elegant writer, and a consummate orator;—as a finished gentleman in his deportment;—and, as “the last key-stone that makes the arch,” as a professor of religion, whose duties he performs with an unostentatious yet exemplary punctuality, Mr. King may be said to rank with the first of his cotemporaries.





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DE WITT CLINTON ESQ^{rs}

LIFE OF DE WITT CLINTON.

DURING the civil wars in England, in the reign of Charles the First, William Clinton, was distinguished by his attachment to the royal cause. On its failure, he sought refuge, with many others of the adherents of Charles, on the continent of Europe. After spending some time in France and Spain, he went secretly to Scotland, where he married a lady of the family of Kennedy. He finally settled in Ireland, where he died, leaving a son, named James, then but two years old. On attaining the age of manhood, James made a visit to England for the purpose of recovering his patrimonial estate. In this object he did not succeed, but his visit was not without its advantages, for having married Miss Elizabeth Smith, the daughter of a captain in Cromwell's army, and an officer of great reputation, he acquired sufficient influence to obtain an honourable standing in Ireland, whither he returned. His son Charles, grandfather of De Witt Clinton, was born in the county of Longford. His father bestowed great care on his education; and he seems to have possessed a character of no ordinary grade: for, on his emigrating to this country, in the year 1729, he was attended by many of his friends, who adhered to his fortunes, and willingly accompanied him into a distant land. He established himself in the county of Ulster, in the state of New York, where he filled, with credit, the office of

judge. He was also appointed a colonel of the militia of that province, and commanded a regiment at the capture of fort Frontenax, by colonel Bradstreet. The leisure which his public duties allowed him was devoted to the pursuits of literature, and to the cultivation and enjoyment of social intercourse. George Clinton, the father of the late Sir Henry Clinton, was then governor of the colony. With this gentleman he formed an acquaintance, which might, perhaps, have been produced by ties of distant consanguinity, but which ripened into an intimacy that only a congeniality of character could have effected. The son of colonel Clinton, the late venerable vice president of the United States, was named after the colonial governor. Several splendid offers, made to him by governor Clinton, were declined by the colonel, who preferred a life of respectable independence, in the bosom of his family, and in the cultivation of letters, surrounded by his colony of friends and countrymen, to all the allurements of office and all the pageantry of rank.

Colonel Clinton left four sons and one daughter. Of the sons, Alexander was educated at Nassau College, practised as a physician, and died without children. Charles became a surgeon in the British army, and was never married. James was a major general in the revolutionary army, and George, filled, successively, the offices of governor of New York, and vice president of the United States.

Major general James Clinton married a lady named Mary De Witt, of a highly respectable family, from Holland, by whom he had four sons and three daughters.

DE WITT CLINTON, third son of general James Clinton, was born in the year 1769, at the family residence, in Orange county, in the state of New York. After attending to the first rudiments of education, he entered a

grammar school, taught by the Reverend John Moffat, a presbyterian clergyman, from which he was transferred, in 1782, to a distinguished academy at Kingston, conducted by Mr. John Addison. During the revolutionary war, few good seminaries for education existed, and the reputation of this, necessarily drew to it most of the young men of the state of New York, who were then engaged in their course of studies. In this academy, Mr. Clinton remained nearly two years, pursuing the usual routine of academical education. After the war, in 1784, he entered the junior class of Columbia college, having been examined in the presence of the regents of the university; and being the first student who entered that seminary since the conclusion of peace. His collegiate education was attended with peculiar advantages: the Reverend Mr. Moore, since bishop of New York; Samuel Bard, M. D., now president of the college of physicians and surgeons at New York; John Kemp, L. L. D., J. D. Gros, D. D., and William Cochran, A. M., were then professors, and in the zenith of their usefulness and reputation. He had, also, the benefit of an excellent library. At the commencement for conferring degrees, he delivered the salutatory oration in Latin, and received the honours of the university.

He commenced the study of the law, in 1786, with Samuel Jones, Esq. a celebrated counsellor, second to none of his profession for profound and extensive knowledge. Mr. Clinton received the usual licences or degrees, in the law, but was abruptly called off from the further cultivation of the pursuit, by circumstances arising from the situation of political affairs in the state of New York. The germs of the two great parties which have since divided the country were at that time beginning to appear. His uncle, George Clinton, then governor of the state, was assailed by a combination of almost all the talents of that section of the country; and pamphlets, and

newspaper essays were poured upon the public with unrestrained profusion. Mr. Clinton, relinquishing every other pursuit, entered warmly and exclusively, into the vindication of the conduct and principles of his uncle, and it is believed that the greater part of the controversial politics on that side, was managed by him during this period of turbulence and irritation.

He continued with his uncle, as his secretary, during his administration, which ended in 1795. The governor declined a re-election, not only on account of the ill state of his health, but from his observance, also, of the republican rule of rotation in office. Mr. Clinton had been honoured, while with his venerable uncle, with the offices of secretary of the university, and of the board of fortifications of New York.

Upon the retirement of the governor, Mr. Clinton also withdrew from public life. But his efforts, as an individual, in rallying and supporting the party of which he might now be considered the leader, were not for a moment remitted. To do this with effect, however, it seemed necessary, that he should be placed in a public station; and, accordingly, in the spring of 1797, he was elected a member of assembly for the city of New York, without opposition.

The political party adverse to that to which Mr. Clinton belonged, obtained a majority in the legislature, and had among them many men of talents. The minority might, also, boast of considerable capacity, and were respectable too, in point of numbers. Mr. Clinton became an active member of the house; and, although almost wholly engrossed by the concerns of party, was ardently engaged on every subject which had relation to the advancement of science or the cultivation of benevolence.

During this session, Robert R. Livingston was proposed as governor, in opposition to John Jay, and Mr. Clinton wrote the address to the electors in

favour of the former gentleman. Mr. Jay, however, succeeded in his election. Mr. Clinton was at this period chosen a member of the senate for four years; and, in that body, had the pleasure to meet as members, his old preceptors, Addison and Jones. Differing with them on many points of political importance, and feeling in common with persons of all parties, the irritation produced by the times, Mr. Clinton experienced no diminution of the attachment he had always entertained, and never for a moment lost sight of the respect which he had been accustomed to extend towards these worthy men. During this period of his legislative career, a large portion of his attention was bestowed upon subjects which had relation to the protection of the public health;—the promotion of agriculture;—manufactures and the arts generally;—the establishment of the credit of our staple commodities in foreign markets;—the gradual abolition of slavery;—the encouragement of steam boats;—and the various objects of municipal improvement.

In the spring of 1800, the current of public opinion was turned in favour of the political party to which Mr. Clinton was attached, and they succeeded at the election of that year, by a large majority. The opposite party had, at this time, a majority in the senate, and, in Mr. Jay, as governor, they possessed a respectable and most decided executive officer. Mr. Clinton was chosen a member of the council of appointment, between whom and the governor, a violent dispute arose respecting the exclusive right of nomination, which, while it lasted, suspended all appointments. On the 26th of February, the governor represented the conduct of the council to the assembly, and on the 17th of March, this representation was followed by a long argumentative answer, written by Mr. Clinton. The subject being left to the state convention which regulated the number of legislators, that body pronounced, on this much controverted point, in favour of the council. The

assembly of 1800, was composed of the most respectable men of the party, among whom were governor Clinton, general Gates, general Clinton, judge Livingston, lieutenant governor Broome, and Mr. Samuel Osgood. The ensuing spring, George Clinton was again elected governor.

On the 9th of February 1802, Mr. Clinton was appointed a senator of the United States, in the place of general Armstrong, who had resigned, and, on the 23d of the same month, he took his seat in the senate, of which he continued an active member until October 1803, when he retired, having been chosen mayor of the city of New York. The journals of the senate bear evidence of his attention to his official duties. The part he took in the debate on the proposition of Mr. Ross to seize New Orleans, served, greatly, to distinguish him.

He continued to preside over the police of New York until the 9th of March 1807, when he was succeeded as mayor by colonel Willet.

In April 1805, having been sent again to the senate of the state of New York, he brought forward in that body, a plan for the defence of the city, which was adopted, and appropriations voted to carry it into execution. His efforts were also used to extend the benefits of education, by encouraging the Lancasterian system;—to the removing disabilities from Roman catholics;—to the permanent support of the New York hospital;—and to the advancement of various benevolent institutions. On the 31st of January 1806, he was chosen a member of the council of appointment.

In 1808, Mr. Clinton was again appointed mayor of New York. He was also, this year, chosen a regent of the university. In the senate, he still continued to extend his support to the encouragement of free schools and colleges, and manufactures. In the course of this session, at his instance, the academy of the fine arts, in New York, was incorporated, and spacious

rooms in the government house assigned for its accommodation. The preceding year, 1807, had witnessed a great political convulsion in the state, which terminated in the complete revolution of parties, and in the first election of governor Tompkins.

The record of the proceedings of the senate of New York for the sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811, exhibits proofs of Mr. Clinton's great usefulness. Under his auspices, the New York historical society was incorporated ;—the orphan asylum, and free school societies were fostered and encouraged ;—and a fur company was established, with the view of diverting that important branch of inland trade from Canada. He introduced laws to prevent kidnapping, or the further introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly ;—for the support of the quarantine establishment ;—for the encouragement of missionary societies ;—for the improvement of the public police ;—for the prevention and punishment of crime ;—for the perfecting the militia system ;—for promoting medical science ;—and, for endowing seminaries of education.

On the 13th of March 1810, he was appointed, together with Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William North, Thomas Eddy, Simeon De Witt, and Peter B. Porter, a commissioner, to report on the improvement of the internal navigation of the state. At the next session, the board of commissioners made their first report, and a law was passed, "To provide for the internal navigation of the state." Several other reports were subsequently made on this subject, by the board, but their further operations were prevented by the occurrence of the late war in 1812. Their plan was, to connect lake Erie with the tide waters of the river Hudson. Since the war, these designs have been renewed with great spirit. In 1816, a law was passed, constituting a new board of canal commissioners, of which Mr.

Clinton was appointed president. In 1817, the board made reports to the legislature which proved so satisfactory, that a law was passed which authorized the junction, by canals, of the two waters of the great western and northern lakes, with the Atlantic ocean.

In 1811, Mr. Clinton was chosen mayor of New York, having been superseded the preceding year, in consequence of a change of party in the city. This office he continued to hold, by annual appointment, until 1815.

An act of the legislature had been passed on the motion of Mr. Clinton, in 1808, for granting one hundred thousand dollars to be appropriated towards fortifying the city of New York. This, and other laws, which were subsequently passed, were carried into execution by a board of commissioners of which he was president. The important works on Staten Island, show the intelligence, economy, and active industry of the board, aided by the science and practical skill as an engineer, of colonel Jonathan Williams, who superintended the erection of the works. At a later period, during the recent war, Mr. Clinton was chairman of a committee of the corporation, and drew the masterly report which indicated the means and the mode of defending the city. His plan was adopted and carried into effect, under his auspices, by the corporation, aided by the patriotic inhabitants of New York and the surrounding country, by whose exertions, works of defence sprang up in every direction. During this period of danger, Mr. Clinton believed it to be his duty to offer his services for active operations in the field, having held for some time, the station of major general in the militia of the state.

In 1811, he was chosen lieutenant governor of the state of New York : and, in the following year, was recommended as a candidate for the office of president of the United States, by the unanimous voice of the republican members of the state of New York.

On the 25th of March 1817, he was nominated for the office of governor of the state of New York by a vast majority of a convention of the state;—and that state, which had never been before without its divisions and party feuds, now exhibited the strange and gratifying spectacle of the election of a chief magistrate, without tumult and irritation, and it might be added, almost without opposition.

Governor Clinton is at this time closely connected with many literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions, of several of which he has been the framer, and of which he seems to be the animating spirit. He is president of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York;—of the New York Historical Society;—of the Free School;—and of the Economical School Societies;—a regent of the University;—a member of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts;—and of the Humane Society. He has been admitted a member of the American Philosophical Society, and of all the principal scientific associations in this country, and of several in Europe. In 1812, he received the honorary degree of *L. L. D.*; and has been, for a number of years, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, and presides over some of the higher branches of that institution.

On the incorporation of the Literary and Philosophical Society, he, as their president, opened their first meeting with an introductory discourse, which has been generally and deservedly admired, both for its style and matter. This discourse is published in the first volume of the transactions of that society in quarto. A second discourse is printed in the second volume of the collections of the New York Historical Society, together with a memorial soliciting legislative aid for that institution. This eloquent appeal induced a grant, from the legislature, of twelve thousand dollars. Another discourse of Mr. Clinton, delivered upon the first exhibition of the

American Academy of the Fine Arts, established in New York, together with his speeches on the contemplated war with Spain, and his various addresses and reports, have appeared in print.

During his occupancy of a seat in the senate of the state, he was called upon, as a member of the highest tribunal, to give opinions in controverted cases. Some of which are contained in Johnson's Reports.

De Witt Clinton was married to Maria Franklin, the eldest daughter of Walter Franklin, an eminent and opulent merchant of New York. By this lady he has been blessed with a numerous family of children.

As a citizen, useful, active, and meritorious, he is second, probably, to no man in the United States. In the great and growing state and city of which he is a native and resident, no man has stamped his name, his genius, and his services, on more monuments of public munificence and private utility.

With a capacity improved by long habits of practical attention to business, few men in any legislative body or executive council, ever acquired that degree of facility, correctness, and rapidity of performance, in the ordinary affairs of society, which have eminently distinguished his public life. In his judicial duties, promptitude, solidity, and talent mark his course—his energy is equal to any occurrence, and his decisions and opinions are regarded as standard authorities.

As a public speaker, he addresses himself to the judgment rather than to the passions—he commands the understanding rather than fascinates the heart—and the ornaments and graces of declamation are supplied by the undaunted firmness of his manner, the full manly tone of his voice, the soundness of logic, the strength of remark, the beauty of method, and the clearness and force of deduction.

As a writer, his style is neither gorgeous nor unadorned. Not destitute of the beauties of language and embellishments of fancy, nor simply stale or insipidly tame and cold, it preserves a medium between the rugged and the weak, the inflated and the low, and is adapted with a happy and natural skill to the very numerous and dissimilar topics which, from time to time, it embraces. Didactic, serious, and impressive, when the subject requires; learned and scientific when necessary; gay and sportive when proper; his pen displays a versatility of power which few men possess. His more weighty and voluminous productions are before the public, in this and other countries, and have received their due appreciation—his technical and incidental productions are registered in the historical, political, legislative and municipal records of the day; his abilities on diplomatic questions, national affairs, and state concerns, are often displayed to an unconscious community; while, in his lighter and more temporary effusions, the manly pungency of Junius, and the ease and familiar beauty of Addison, are admired, but not excelled, in our country.

His mind and cast of thought are of the finest order, partaking less of the Machiavelian than the Roman school, and exhibiting a greater portion of innate dignity and the *fortiter in re* than are at all times convenient or advantageous to a candidate for popular suffrage. In every station he distinguishes himself by his talents, his integrity, and his dispatch of business. His reading is multifarious, indefatigable, well directed, and profitable; for his judgment digests, and his memory retains, the collected knowledge of every hour allowed from his numerous avocations for study and reflection. His range of information and acquaintance extends from all that can interest to whatever may divert and gratify.

In religion, he is neither a bigoted sectarian, nor scoffer at the supersti-

tious. Reverencing the great principles and duties of rational piety, he cherishes the dictates of devotion in all, and respects the tenets and honest singularities of the most peculiar. Establishing no exclusive denomination over others, he would tolerate every class of sincere professors, and protect them in a liberal exercise of their ideas of divine worship. His charities have generally kept pace with his ability; his pecuniary aid, and his friendly advice and assistance, being always at the service of indigence, virtue, benevolence, literature, the arts, and public utility. If the circle of his confidential associates be contracted, it is not because he discards attachments when they cease to be profitable. In his intercourse with the various classes of his fellow citizens, to which his universal knowledge of business and unlimited philanthropy call him, his suavity of disposition and urbanity of manners banish every idea of fastidious reserve and austerity of demeanour, and render his presence desirable and his co-operation sought for on every humane and laudable occasion.

Mr. Clinton's personal appearance is dignified and commanding. His form is large and well proportioned—his height above the middle size;—his countenance is highly expressive—his eye uncommonly penetrating—his personal courage has never been disputed.

His moral character is unsullied. He has been called ambitious it is true, but the whole course of his life serves to prove that he has devoted his talents to his country. He desires to excel only that he may benefit mankind. In private life and domestic duties, he is amiable and exemplary—exhibiting the picture of a great man—an elegant and profound scholar—and practical citizen;—a man of letters and the world, and a character of active worth to the present generation, and of solid and permanent advantage to posterity.



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ROBERT FULTON ESQ.

LIFE OF ROBERT FULTON.

THE buoyant spirit which characterizes true genius seldom fails to lift it above the gross atmosphere in which circumstances had involved it, to a more pure and kindred element. Our Franklin and Rittenhouse are illustrious examples of the force of this ethereal quality, and to these we may now add the name of Fulton.

ROBERT FULTON was born in the town of Little Britain, in the county of Lancaster and state of Pennsylvania, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-five. His father, Robert Fulton, was a native of Kilkenny in Ireland. His mother was of a respectable Irish family, of the name of Smith, who had established themselves in Pennsylvania. Robert Fulton, the father, died when the subject of this memoir was but three years of age; and was buried in the cemetery of the first presbyterian church erected in Lancaster, of which he was one of the founders. Although highly respectable, the elder Fulton was far from being opulent, and the small fortune he left, at his death, was to be divided between his widow and five children; the patrimony of Robert was, therefore, but slender. To this circumstance, however, he never looked back with the false shame of common minds; but rather rejoiced, on being considered; as he really was, the founder of his own

fortune. He might justly feel the purest satisfaction in remembering, that, by the time he had arrived at the age of manhood, his talents and industry had enabled him to purchase, and present to his widowed mother, the estate on which her latter years were spent in ease and comfort. Mrs. Fulton died in the year 1799, on her farm, situated in Washington county, Pennsylvania; and the property again reverting to Robert, he left it by will, to one of his three sisters.

Fulton enjoyed some of those advantages in early life, which, if they do not create, serve at least, frequently to foster and develop talent. His education, completed when very young, was limited to the usual branches taught at a common English school. But it was not long before his peculiar genius became manifest, and, even in the inland town of Lancaster, found means and objects. The hours which were spent, by other children, in recreation, were occupied by the young artist in close and severe study in his chamber, or in visiting the shops of the artisans; in the employment of his pencil, or in experiments in mechanics. At this early age, too, he exhibited that utter disregard of the accumulation of money, as a final object, which is falsely said generally to characterize genius; and appeared fully satisfied if he could procure sufficient means for the purchase of the materials necessary to enable him to indulge his taste for mechanism and drawing.

While yet very young he removed from Lancaster to Philadelphia, where he placed himself with a Mr. Andrews, a jeweller, with the intention, it is understood, of acquiring his art. But this pursuit did not prevent him from cultivating and exercising his talent for painting with so much assiduity and success that, before he attained the age of seventeen years, he was already in the receipt of a tolerable income arising from the sale of his portraits and

landscapes: and in only four years afterwards, had saved a sum large enough to pay for the farm, which we have before mentioned as having been presented to Mrs. Fulton.

It was on his return to Philadelphia from seeing his mother established on this farm, that Mr. Fulton, then twenty-one years of age, stopped, for a few days, at the Warm Springs of Pennsylvania, where several gentlemen of taste in the arts happened to be at the time. His efforts in painting received extraordinary commendation from these gentlemen, and they advised him to visit London, where West, who was already celebrated, must, they remarked, be proud to bring forward the uncommon talents of his young countryman. These observations doubtless had their effect upon the mind of Fulton, although praise was by no means a novelty to him; for, while yet in Philadelphia, Dr. Franklin had distinguished him by unusual attention. Fulton, however, now determined to proceed to Europe. His design was approved by his friends in Philadelphia, from whom he received all the aid which his delicate sense of pecuniary obligation would suffer him to accept. Samuel Scorbitt has been mentioned as being among those most conspicuous for their friendly zeal on this occasion.

On his arrival in London, Fulton was received by West, in a manner even to exceed his warmest hopes, and, at the same time, sufficiently to establish his claims as a person of promising genius. He immediately became the inmate of that gentleman's house, and, very soon after, his companion and friend; and, while he remained under his roof, which was for a considerable length of time, continued to grow in his estimation as an artist, and to win upon his affections by his worth and amiable qualities as a man. The friendship thus formed between those gentlemen, subsisted until the period of Fulton's death. Before they separated, the portrait of each of the friends

was painted by the other, and those pictures were carefully cherished as remembrances of their attachment.

For some years after leaving the family of Mr. West, Fulton employed himself as a painter. He did not, however, feel entirely satisfied with his progress in the art, and was, at length, wholly withdrawn from its further cultivation by his ruling taste for the mechanic arts. During a residence of two years near Exeter in Devonshire, he had become advantageously known to the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope. With the latter, celebrated for his love of useful knowledge, Mr. Fulton was for a long time engaged in correspondence. About this period, too, Mr. James Rumsey, an ingenious American, was in London, endeavouring to apply the powers of the steam engine to the purpose of propelling boats. An acquaintance naturally soon took place between two Americans meeting in a foreign country, with tastes and pursuits so similar: and, perhaps it was from this connexion, that Mr. Fulton might have dated his confirmed and exclusive devotion to subjects of mechanical science.

In some of the manuscripts of Mr. Fulton, written so early as 1793, the project of propelling boats by steam is brought forward with much confidence. About the same time, he was engaged with great ardour, in attempting to increase the facilities of inland navigation; the first idea of which he acknowledges to have received from a letter written by Earl Stanhope.

In May, 1794, the British government granted him a patent for a double inclined plane, to be used in transportation. In the same year, also, he submitted to the society for the promotion of arts and commerce, an improvement of his invention of mills for sawing marble, for which he received the thanks of the society, and an honorary medal. He invented, besides, a

machine for spinning flax, and another for making ropes. For these he obtained patents from the British government. A mechanical contrivance for scooping out the earth in certain situations, at present used in England, is also of his invention.

In the following year, 1795, he published, in the public journals, several essays on the subject of canals. He had now professed himself a civil engineer; and, in the year 1796, submitted his plan of an improved canal navigation, with models of his machines, to the British board of agriculture. The plan was favourably received, and a resolution of the board, strongly recommending its adoption, was communicated to Mr. Fulton, in a manner the most complimentary.

The publication, in London, of his treatise on canal navigation followed in the year 1796. In this work he recommends canals of smaller dimensions, and boats of less burden, than were, at that time, in general use. Besides this, the principal departure which he suggests from the established practice, is a mode of conveyance over mountainous countries by means of a water power which should raise or lower the boat and her freight from one level to another. The particular application of his machinery to other purposes, especially in connexion with inclined planes, in passing over a valley, may also be said to have originated with him.

This ingenious treatise is not confined strictly to a description of his own inventions or machinery; nor, indeed, to the mere subject of canals. Much valuable information is afforded with regard to aqueducts and bridges, and a highly useful view is taken of the general subject of inland transportation as connected with political economy. Accompanying this work is a letter to the governor of his native state, recommending the introduction of his system

into Pennsylvania. A copy of the treatise was also transmitted to general Washington, who returned the author a flattering acknowledgment.

In 1797, Mr. Fulton obtained from the British government a patent for canal improvements; and soon after passed over to France with a view to introduce them in that country. He had previously, as appears from the preface to his description of his *Nautilus*, resided eighteen months in the great manufacturing town of Birmingham; where he had doubtless acquired much practical knowledge in mechanics.

Among the manuscripts of Mr. Fulton which were happily preserved from the wreck of the vessel in which he had placed them in the year 1804, to be conveyed from France to the United States, there is one dated in October 1797, addressed to the French executive directory, entitled "*Thoughts on Free Trade*," a subject of which he takes the most enlightened, enlarged, and benevolent view: and another, perhaps written about the same time, addressed to "*The Friends of Mankind*," in which the necessity of education and internal improvements in producing national happiness, is strongly enforced. In 1798, pursuing this interesting subject, he published a series of letters, addressed to Earl Stanhope, in which he clearly exhibits the advantages to nations arising from canals, and home improvements generally, simple taxation, and free trade.

The works we have mentioned appear to have been written in France; and it seems, therefore, that the original views of Mr. Fulton in visiting that country, had been extended to objects of more magnitude than were first contemplated. In 1797, when a peace seemed likely to take place between England and France, he wrote directly to Carnot, then a member of the executive directory, proposing a plan, which, if acted upon, would, in his

opinion, have given birth to great and happy results ; a sudden change in the French government, however, destroyed every hope of its being adopted.

Still intent upon a destruction of what he termed the "war system" of Europe, and seeing no longer any prospect of his pacific projects being listened to, he now turned his undivided attention to the discovery or invention of some means, drawn from mechanical science, of forcing the most powerful government to abandon the dominion of an element, to the benefits of which he justly couceived the weakest had an equal claim, and, as he expresses it, "to adopt the simple principles of education, industry, and a free circulation of produce." It was to this humane and philanthropic consideration, we owe whatever benefits have arisen from the discoveries of Mr. Fulton in submarine navigation and explosion.

On his arrival in Paris, a friendship commenced between him and Joel Barlow, which ended only with their lives. At the invitation of Barlow, Fulton took up his residence at the hotel of the former, where he continued to remain during seven years. In this time he studied the high mathematics, physics, chemistry, and perspective. He also acquired the French language, and something of the Italian and German ; and a panoramic painting, the first exhibited in Paris, was executed by him at the suggestion, it is believed, of Barlow.

A fact may be mentioned here, which tends to show the cordial and generous attachment which subsisted between Barlow and Fulton. At the period of which we are now speaking, Barlow was preparing for the press his elegant edition of the *Columbiad*, which he afterwards dedicated, in terms of glowing affection, to Fulton. The splendid plates which adorn this work were executed under the superintendence of Fulton, who, by the expenditure of about five thousand dollars, acquired a property in the work. The

whole of this property, however, Mr. Fulton, by will, relinquished in favour of the widow of his deceased and lamented friend.

In December, 1797, Fulton made his first experiment on submarine explosion on the river Seine, in company with Barlow.

On the completion of his plan of the submarine boat, he twice offered it to the French directory. They, at length, appointed a committee to examine it; but, notwithstanding the favourable report made by the committee, they afterwards entirely rejected it. An application to the Dutch government, made through M. Schemelpeninck, their ambassador in France, met with the same fate. When Bonaparte became first consul, Mr. Fulton made a third and more successful application to the French government. Volney, La Place, and Monge, were appointed commissioners; to whom, in 1801, Fulton gave an interesting detail of two submarine voyages which he had made in July and August of that year, in his plunging boat, afterwards named by him the "Nautilus." Some experiments were next tried with the submarine bombs, which he had now called torpedoes, in connexion with the diving boat: and, in presence of admiral Villaret, in the harbour of Brest, he succeeded in applying one of his torpedoes to a small vessel prepared for the purpose, and blew her fragments to a vast height in the air.

Great effects were now confidently expected by the rulers of France, from this terrible engine; and the remaining part of the summer was consumed by Mr. Fulton in waiting for an opportunity of attacking one of the British ships then on the coast. None of them, however, ventured far enough into the harbour for his purpose, and the French government, discontented with his want of success, immediately withdrew their patronage from the undertaking.

In England, much anxiety was manifested as to the progress of Mr. Fulton's projects. Lord Stanhope, who well knew the genius of Fulton, mentioned the subject in the house of lords; and Lord Sidmouth, then British minister, and afterwards Lord Hawkesbury, invited him over to England.

Mr. Fulton had never disguised the great aim of his experiments; and, to attain his object, the countenance and support of one government was equally acceptable with those of another. France had ceased to encourage him, and he, therefore, did not hesitate to receive the aid of England. But he carried the same manly frankness which he had displayed towards the French government into all his negotiations, on the subject, with the British.

He arrived in London in May 1804. Mr. Pitt, who was at that time minister, did not, it is presumed, look with much complacency upon inventions, which might eventually destroy the then undoubted naval supremacy of the nation; and he seems to have been satisfied with depriving France of the services of Mr. Fulton. Commissioners were, indeed, named, to examine his projects. But the coldness with which they regarded them, the obstacles constantly thrown in their way, and the eagerness with which his failure at Bologne was seized upon as conclusive of their inefficacy, seem clearly to indicate that the government scarcely wished for their success. Mr. Fulton had satisfactorily explained the causes of his failure at Bologne, and, by a brilliant experiment on a vessel in Walmar roads, had shown that the imperfections in his machinery no longer existed. But Lord Grenville had now succeeded Pitt as minister; and the opinion of Lord St. Vincent, that it would be folly to encourage a project which would annihilate their own maritime power, appears to have been fully adopted by the cabi-

net; and, following the example of the French government, they not only declined giving Mr. Fulton further aid, but felt indisposed even to fulfil the engagements which their predecessors had entered into with him.

Disappointed and disgusted, Mr. Fulton now prepared to return to his native country. That country which he had never forgotten; to whose improvement, prosperity, and security, he had always looked forward as his best reward, and which, even when most engaged in his favourite pursuit, he yet found time to defend from the aspersions of a libeller, by the name of Parkinson, who had recently returned from making a tour in the United States. Neither had his attachment to the fine arts suffered any abatement. While yet in England, he addressed the citizens of Philadelphia on the subject of establishing an institution of the Fine Arts; and proposed to them the purchase of Mr. West's superb collection of paintings: and, when he arrived in the United States, he brought with him those fine pictures of West, Lear, and Ophelia, for which he had given more than three hundred guineas.

Mr. Fulton landed at New York in December, 1806, and immediately recommenced his experiments on submarine war. His attention was, also, now directed to steam navigation, a subject he had reflected on at a very early period; and which had been pressed upon his re-consideration, while at Paris, by the suggestions of our minister, Robert R. Livingston. His devotion to these subjects, and the engagements formed in consequence, made it necessary that he should decline all other pursuits. It was for this reason he felt it inexpedient to accept the flattering invitation given him by general Dearborn, then secretary of war, to make the surveys and draughts for a contemplated canal from Pontchartrain to the Mississippi. In his letter to the secretary, on this occasion, we find the first suggestions of that vast plan,

now we hope in successful progress, of uniting the western lakes with the waters of the Hudson.

While on his visit at Washington he found Mr. Madison, secretary of state, and Mr. Robert Smith, secretary of the navy, much disposed to encourage his attempts with the torpedo: and when in the summer of 1807, the affair of the Chesapeake took place, and our waters were consequently prohibited to British ships of war, the offer of his services was to have been accepted by government, in case the interdicted vessels should attempt to enter our harbours. This, however, they did not think proper to hazard, and Mr. Fulton had recourse to more pacific experiments than he had proposed, to exhibit the effects of his engines.

The citizens of New York were witnesses, in July 1807, of the complete success of his torpedoes, in annihilating a large hulk brig, purchased for the purpose under the authority of government. A circumstantial relation of this experiment may be found in his interesting work, entitled, “Torpedo War.” This work was published in 1810, and dedicated to the president of the United States and the members of both houses of congress. It contains a full account and a clear explanation of his system.

Several experiments were subsequently made by Mr. Fulton, in presence of gentlemen invited to witness them, by the secretary of war. Among these was one with an invention which he had produced before that of the torpedo. This was a method of cutting the cables of vessels at anchor, by means of a gun discharged under water. The result of this experiment was so satisfactory, that Mr. Fulton conceived from it the idea of firing, under water, cannon charged with balls or bombs.

On the subject of the torpedo, the committee made a report as favourable as Mr. Fulton had expected. Chancellor Livingston, general Lewis, and

C. D. Colden, Esq. of New York, speak in confident terms of the great effects which might reasonably be expected from the perfection of the system. Commodore Rodgers, who had displayed much ingenuity of defence on the brig *Argus*, which, in one of the experiments, was to have been the supposed object of attack, with the characteristic frankness of his profession, made a report directly against the project. Mr. Fulton, however, lost none of his confidence in his system. "It is admitted," he observes in a letter to the secretary of the navy, "first, that the water proof locks will ignite gunpowder under water; secondly, it is proved that seventy pounds of powder, exploded under the bottom of a vessel of two hundred tons, will blow her up; hence, it is admitted, that if a sufficient quantity of powder (and which, I believe, need not be more than two hundred pounds) be ignited under the bottom of a first rate man of war, it would instantly destroy her; thirdly, it is proved and admitted by all parties concerned in the experiments, that a gun can be fired under water, and that a cable of any size may be cut by that means, at any required depth.

"With these immensely important principles proved and admitted, the question naturally occurs, whether there be within the genius, or inventive faculties of man, the means of placing a torpedo under a ship, in defiance of her powers of resistance. He who says that there is not, and that, consequently, torpedoes never can be rendered useful, must of course believe, that he has penetrated to the limits of man's inventive powers, and that he has contemplated all the combinations and arrangements which present, or future ingenuity can devise, to place a torpedo under a ship."

No one can question the reasonableness of these remarks; and we cannot help drawing the same conclusion with Mr. Fulton in another part of his letter, that the use of fire ships in ordinary warfare proves, that there can be

always found men courageous enough to make an attack with torpedoes. It may be added, that, at all events, much will have been gained by this invention, if the dread of the torpedo should impose upon an enemy in our harbours, the necessity of those cumbrous and unwieldy defences against it, which commodore Rodgers, no doubt justly, deemed indispensable.

These experiments were made early in the year 1811, from which time, until the period of the war between the United States and England, a principal portion of his attention was employed on other subjects of no less magnitude.

It has been already remarked, that the improvement of steam navigation had been suggested to him, while at Paris, by our minister R. R. Livingston, as every way worthy of the exercise of his great talents. Mr. Fulton had bestowed much thought on the subject as early as the year 1793, as appears by his letter dated in that year, to the Earl of Stanhope. But the suggestions of Mr. Livingston of the incalculable benefit a perfected system of navigation, by steam, would prove to this new and extensive country, awakened in Mr. Fulton an unconquerable desire to accomplish so great an object. Mr. Livingston and himself engaged, therefore, heartily in the enterprise, and, in 1803, had the satisfaction of making a successful trial of their experimental steam boat on the river Seine, in the presence of the members of the National Institute, and a vast concourse of the inhabitants of Paris. On Mr. Fulton's return to America in 1806, he and Mr. Livingston immediately commenced building a steam boat of what was then considered large dimensions, and in 1807, this vessel, called the *Clermont*, began navigating the Hudson, at the rate of five miles an hour. Perhaps no period of Mr. Fulton's life was filled with more pure delight than that in which this boat, for the first time, left the wharf to proceed on her voyage. He had

stepped on board amidst the audible and visible scoffs and sneers of the ignorant multitude. A few moments, however, sufficed to change the scene, and the wonder and admiration of the people were expressed in loud and continued acclamation.

The triumph of genius might now have been supposed complete, but incredulity with respect to Fulton's merit, only yielded, with some, to envy of his success; and so far was the spirit of hostility to his invention carried by those who had formerly affected to treat it with ridicule and contempt, that the legislature of New York, in the act securing to Mr. Fulton and Mr. Livingston the benefits of their discoveries, thought proper to insert a declaration, that combinations to destroy the steam boat, or wilful attempts to injure her, were public offences, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

From this memorable era in the life of Fulton, the art of navigating by steam continued to advance towards perfection, and the last boat built under his direction was better than any that had preceded it. The most sanguine speculations on the advantages of the art have now been realized, and the immense rivers and bays of our vast continent swarm with the living proofs of the genius of Fulton.

It is not necessary to enter into a detail of the attempts which have been made to deprive him of the pecuniary reward of his talents and time, nor of those abortive endeavours of the malignant and envious to plunder him of what was dearer, his fame as the inventor of useful and practicable steam navigation. On these subjects we would refer the reader to the life of Fulton, recently presented to the public by Cadwallader D. Colden of New York, from which admirable work we have been permitted to take a portion of this sketch. It will there be clearly seen that neither England nor France has the least title to the invention; and, that our own ingenious countrymen,

whom the enemies of Fulton have brought forward as claimants, must yield to his undoubted right. The reader of Mr. Colden's very excellent book will also be delighted to trace, through many an interesting detail, the genius of Fulton, aided by the moral strength of his character, his manly perseverance, and philosophical patience, encountering every embarrassment and surmounting every difficulty, till he had accomplished that which even Franklin had declared to be impracticable.

It has been observed before, that the letter of Mr. Fulton, in answer to general Dearborn, the secretary of war, in 1807, contains the first idea which had gone abroad, of joining the western lakes and the Atlantic ocean by canals. This project soon attracted public attention, and in 1810, the legislature of New York appointed commissioners, with whom Mr. Fulton was joined the next session, to explore the route of inland navigation from the Hudson river to the lakes Ontario and Erie. The commissioners made reports in 1811, 1812, 1814; and, in the last mentioned year, Mr. Fulton addressed a letter to Gouverneur Morris, president of the board, containing interesting information and calculations. This letter was the latest aid which this magnificent scheme received from his talents. Mr. Fulton had given a large portion of his thoughts to the means of improving inland navigation. His treatise on canals has been already adverted to; and, during the year 1808, in reply to several queries proposed to him by Mr. Gallatin, then secretary of the treasury, with regard to public roads and canals, he goes at large into the subject, displaying a great fund of knowledge, and the most enlightened and comprehensive views.

The war between the United States and England, which commenced in 1812, drew back Mr. Fulton's attention to his project of submarine warfare. His torpedoes, however, were never brought fairly into trial. The enemy,

aware of their danger, constantly kept too much aloof, for the contracted efforts of individual enterprise to effect any thing, and the government did not feel sufficient confidence in them to adopt Mr. Fulton's proposition of organizing a marine corps, to be instructed and practised in their uses. His thoughts, therefore, reverted to his design of discharging cannon under water; and, after various experiments, which fully satisfied his expectations, and proved that submarine batteries could be used with effect, he obtained, in 1813, a patent for his improvements in this mode of attack.

It was from those submarine batteries that he conceived the plan of the steam man of war. At the beginning of the year 1814, he exhibited to the coast and harbour committee of New York, his plans and models of this stupendous machine. The committee immediately addressed the government in the most earnest terms, soliciting that the plan might be adopted; and the opinions of the committee were supported, and their request enforced, by the direct approval and strong recommendation of many of our most distinguished naval commanders.

To obviate any difficulties that might arise with regard to making appropriations, the committee, with the most generous patriotism, proposed to build the vessel with their own private funds, upon the mere promise of government that the expenses should be reimbursed when her utility should be demonstrated: she was estimated to cost three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Government readily entered into the project, and in March 1814, a law was accordingly passed. On the 20th of June following, Mr. Fulton, who had been appointed engineer, laid her keel, and in October of the same year, little more than four months afterwards, she was launched, under the name of *Fulton the First*, amidst the enthusiastic applause of an immense concourse of spectators.

In May 1815, her engine was put on board, and on the fourth of July, she made a voyage to the ocean and back. In September she made a similar passage, when it was found that, with the whole weight of her entire armament, she moved at an average rate of five and a half miles an hour, with and against the tide, thus exceeding the engagements of Mr. Fulton with the government, with regard to her speed, at least one mile and a half in the hour.

“She is a structure,” says Mr. Colden in his life of Fulton, “resting on two boats and keels, separated from end to end by a channel fifteen feet wide, and sixty-six feet long. One boat contains the caldrons of copper to prepare her steam. The cylinder of iron, its piston, levers, and wheels, occupy part of the other. The water wheel revolves in the space between them. The main or gun deck supports the armament, and is protected by a parapet, four feet ten inches thick, of solid timber, pierced by embrasures. Through thirty port-holes, as many thirty-two pounders are intended to fire red-hot shot, which can be heated with great safety and convenience. Her upper or spar deck, upon which several thousand men might parade, is encompassed with a bulwark, which affords safe quarters: she is rigged with two stout masts, each of which supports a large latteen yard and sails: she has two bowsprits, and four rudders, one at each extremity of each boat; so that she can be steered with either end foremost: her machinery is calculated for the addition of an engine, which will discharge an immense column of water, which it is intended to throw upon the decks and through the port-holes of an enemy, and thereby deluge her armament and ammunition. If, in addition to all this, we suppose her to be furnished, according to Mr. Fulton’s intention, with hundred pound columbiads, two suspended from each bow, so as to discharge a ball of that size into an enemy’s ship,

at ten or twelve feet below her water-line ; it must be allowed that she has the appearance, at least, of being the most formidable engine for warfare that human ingenuity has contrived."

The last work on which Mr. Fulton was engaged, was a modification of his submarine boat or nautilus. This boat was to be propelled by a wheel, turned by the power of an hundred men, operating upon a shaft and crank. By means of an air-chamber, she was, under ordinary circumstances, to remain on the surface of the water ; but was so contrived as to be partially sunk, when within reach of an enemy, leaving nothing exposed but her deck, which, from its stoutness, and the great angle at which a cannon ball must have necessarily struck it, would be impenetrable. This vessel, from the silence with which she moved, was to be called a mute, and was intended to approach and attack an enemy under cover of the night, with torpedoes or submarine guns. Her model was approved, and Mr. Fulton had received the sanction of the executive to construct a mute at New York : but, unfortunately, his country had to lament his death before he had completed it.

Mr. Fulton's constitution had been originally extremely delicate, and he was possessed of exquisite nervous sensibility. The incessant exercise of such a mind as his, acting upon such a frame, generated those diseases with which he was afflicted in the latter part of his life.

He was returning, with his friends John R. Livingston, Emmet, and Sampson, from Trenton, where he had been attending a vexatious trial at court, relating to his steam inventions, when, in crossing the Hudson, at that time filled with ice, he was exposed, during several hours, to the inclemency of the weather ; which, added to his extreme alarm for his friend Emmet, who was, for some moments, in a situation of great peril, and his exertions to rescue him, produced a very serious indisposition. His attention,

however, could not be withdrawn at that important period, from his steam frigate, which he was then just about beholding in operation. He was scarcely considered convalescent, before a premature exposure brought back his illness with increased violence; every medical aid was resorted to without success, and he terminated his valuable life on the 24th February 1815, a martyr to his efforts in the cause of science, of friendship, and patriotism.

The unexpected death of Fulton spread lamentation and regret not only among his immediate friends, but through the whole community; for every one knew his worth and valued his services. The death of no private citizen before, was ever marked by a more universal expression of grief. The newspapers, in announcing the event, wore those signs of mourning, heretofore only used in noticing the death of public characters. Resolutions were passed by the corporation of New York, the different literary institutions, and other societies, declaring their sense of his great merits, and their determination to attend his funeral, and to wear badges of mourning for a certain time; and the state legislature, then in session at Albany, showed their participation in the general feeling, by formally resolving that the members of both houses should go into mourning for some weeks, the only instance, it is believed, of such an honour having been shown to the memory of a mere citizen, never distinguished by public office, and only known by his virtues and his talents.

His corpse was attended by all the officers of the national and state governments, then in New York, by the magistracy and common council of the city, a number of societies, and a larger collection of citizens than had been known ever to assemble on a like occasion. Minute guns were fired from the steam frigate and the west battery, while the procession moved from his

last residence in State street to Trinity church; where his body was deposited, in a vault belonging to the Livingston family.

His will, which was drawn but a few days before his death, shows that his attachment to the arts ceased but with his life. In certain events, his pictures, and one half of his property not otherwise disposed of, are left to an Academy of the Fine Arts, when such academy shall be established at the place which may be the seat of the national government.

Soon after his arrival in America, he was elected a director of the American Academy of the Fine Arts, a member of the New York Historical, and of the United States Military Philosophical Societies, and, upon the organization of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, he was chosen one of its original fellows.

In 1816, the corporation of New York conferred his name upon a new and principal street, which is to be the great thoroughfare across the city, from the Fulton boat ferry, on the one river, to a similar ferry on the other.

Fulton did much for his country, and it is to be hoped that his country will not be wanting in a grateful recollection of his services. The expense attendant on the experiments he was constantly employed in making, the law suits he was incessantly engaged in, the liberal contributions he made to the establishment of the magnificent boats on the Hudson, and the losses he, in many instances, sustained in consequence of the misconduct of his agents, combined to leave his estate deeply involved. From his patent rights, which were never sufficiently secured and protected by law, he derived not the least advantage. They have now nearly expired, and, unless some permanency be given to the exclusive grants from the state he so particularly benefited, the only patrimony of his children will be that load of debt which

their parent contracted in those pursuits, that ought to ensure the gratitude, as their results have commanded the admiration, of mankind.

Mr. Fulton, in the year 1806, married Miss Harriet Livingston, a daughter of Walter Livingston, Esq., a relative of his enterprising associate, chancellor Livingston. He has left four charming infant children : one son, Robert Barlow Fulton, and three daughters.

Mr. Fulton was about six feet high. His person was slender, but well proportioned and well formed.

"Nature," observes his respectable biographer and friend, Mr. Colden, "had made him a gentleman, and bestowed upon him ease and gracefulness. He had too much good sense for the least affectation; and a modest confidence in his own worth and talents, gave him an unembarrassed deportment in all companies. His features were strong, and of a manly beauty : he had large dark eyes, and a projecting brow, expressive of intelligence and thought : his temper was mild and his disposition lively : he was fond of society, which he always enlivened by cheerful cordial manners, and instructed or pleased by his sensible conversation. He expressed himself with energy, fluency, and correctness, and as he owed more to his own experience and reflections than to books, his sentiments were often interesting from their originality.

"In all his domestic and social relations he was zealous, kind, generous, liberal, and affectionate. He knew of no use for money but as it was subservient to charity, hospitality, and the sciences. But what was most conspicuous in his character, was his calm constancy, his industry, and that indefatigable patience and perseverance, which always enabled him to overcome difficulties."

A distinguished foreigner, the Chevalier de Gassicourt, in a recent pub-

lication, observes, that "steam boats offer such great advantages to commerce, that England, France, and America, with one accord, proclaim the glory of Fulton."

In reviewing these outlines of the character of Fulton, we are happy in being enabled to congratulate the public on a display of talents, which, although indebted to Europe in some measure for their improvement, have, however, a germ wholly American.

The air of this country was the first he ever inhaled, and our seminaries were the nurseries of his opening faculties. Though surrounded, from infancy, by the spectres of poverty, yet chill penury could not repress "the genial current of his soul." Deprived, like Washington, in early life, of paternal guidance and protection, he became the object of a mother's anxious solicitude; and much of his future eminence may, perhaps, be justly ascribed to those maternal instructions, which, more frequently than we are accustomed to observe, shape and foster the future patriot and philosopher.

Fulton, according to the opinion of one of the ablest painters of the age, (West) did not justly appreciate his talents, when, despairing of excellence, he relinquished the pencil. This decision, however, was highly important to mankind. Had he lived and expired an artist only, his portraits, his historical groups, and his landscapes might have commanded the wealth of the rich, and the admiration of the connoisseur, but they would not have contributed to the general comfort and convenience of society, nor have secured for their author that extensive fame and permanent reputation, which he has so justly acquired.

His genius and persevering industry, have brought into operation those magnificent steam-machines, which, connecting by an extensive chain of communication, the different portions of our widely extended country, tend

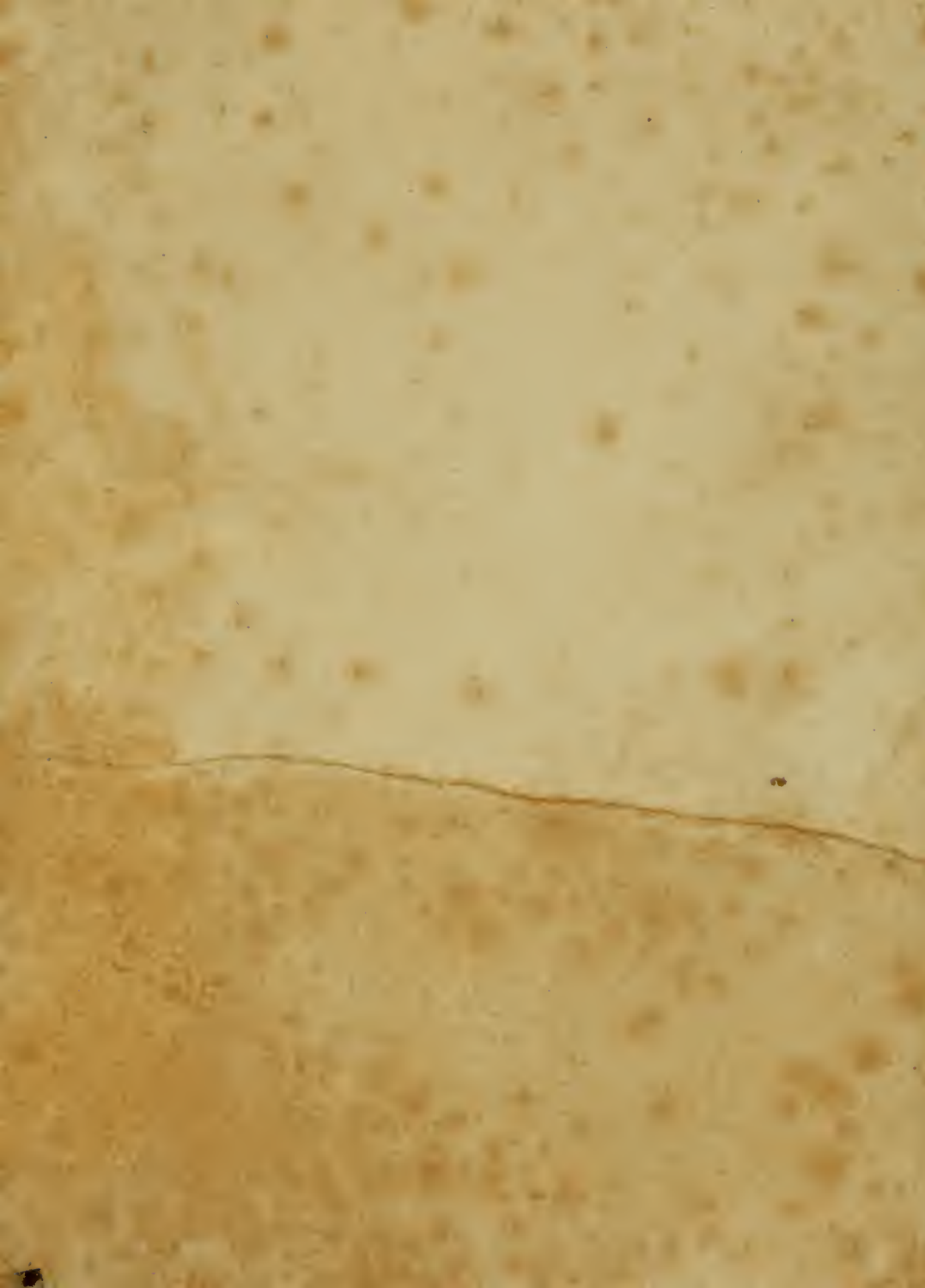
to facilitate intercourse among its inhabitants, polish the members and ameliorate the condition of society, thus destroying those local prejudices and partialities which, unfortunately for our country, have hitherto too generally prevailed. Such are some of the advantages which the native country of Fulton has derived from his enterprising labours. But the sphere of his usefulness does not terminate with the boundaries of America. Europe, who affected to despise, because she dreaded his submarine inventions and tremendous torpedoes, has at length begun publicly to acknowledge his talents by availing herself of his useful improvements. His designs were always bold and original, as they were the offspring of an inventive genius;—but he was destined to be pierced with those thorns which envy and malice have ever strewed in the path of deserving merit. He died with many of his plans unexecuted; but he died beloved and lamented by his country; and when, in the lapse of ages, national prejudices shall have subsided, he will be admired and applauded by the world.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.













JOSEPH DELAPLAINE has made extensive arrangements to continue the publication of the Repository. It will be perceived, that the second half volume contains an increased quantity of matter; and he trusts, that in this, as well as in every subsequent one, improvement will be found.

At the commencement of works like the Repository, great excellence ought not, perhaps, to be expected. The Editor does not consider the first or second number as altogether satisfactory specimens; but from the arrangements he has made, and the success which has attended several departments of its execution, he ventures to assure the public, that the third number, which will be published in the ensuing winter, may be considered as a fair sample of the undertaking.

His National Gallery of the Portraits of Distinguished Americans will be open for public exhibition some time in the month of November, at the corner of Chestnut and Seventh street.

The names of a considerable number of the subscribers to the Repository, have not yet been received by the proprietor of this work. It will be indispensably necessary, therefore, to defer a publication of them, until the appearance of the fourth half volume.

He has made arrangements to publish, as furniture prints, the full length portraits of his Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of New-York, and his Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins, Vice-President of the United States, to be engraved in the highest style of excellence, by Neagle, from approved pictures painted for this purpose, by Jarvis.

Joseph Delaplaine receives from Boydell & Harrison, London, and has constantly for sale, a great variety of engravings, coloured and plain.

He also receives from James Heath, London, and has constantly for sale, a variety of the splendid engravings of that celebrated artist among which are the Death of Lord Nelson, from West—Dead Soldier—full length portrait of Washington, from Stuart &c. He expects to receive from Mr. Heath, from a picture by Westall, a print of the Drowned German, which may be considered an approximate copy to the "Dead Soldier." He has already secured a beautiful etching of this print.

He has received a specimen of the engraved portrait of our highly valued countryman Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy, from a picture painted by G. H. Harlow, being the last for which the president has sat, engraved by that eminent artist James Fittler. Orders for this splendid furniture print will be received at Delaplaine's Repository, where it may be seen.

He will receive, in the ensuing autumn, or early next spring, from Boydell & Harrison, a highly interesting print, in the first style of engraving, of the Battle of Waterloo, by Burnet, 19 by 24 inches, from a large picture by Atkinson & Devis, both of whom went to the continent expressly to collect information to make the drawings of the field of battle, and to paint the portraits of the Duke of Wellington, Prince Blücher, the Prince of Orange, and the other officers who are introduced into the picture.

He is in daily expectation of receiving the engraved portraits by Meyer, of London, in his best manner, of Washington, from Stuart, and Franklin, from the original picture by Martin, of London.

He has obtained the portraits of the Medical Professors of the Universities of Pennsylvania and Maryland, which will be engraved in the first style by Neagle, an eminent artist from London, and who is engaged in the execution of the engravings for Delaplaine's Repository.

The portrait of our distinguished countryman Washington Allston, has been painted in London recently, for Joseph Delaplaine, by that excellent artist C. R. Leslie, and is intended to be engraved for the Repository.

In the 4th half volume will be given, a commencement of the fac-similes of the handwriting of all the distinguished men of our country. They will be continued in regular succession.

The execution of a picture of the Battle of New Orleans, to be painted for Joseph Delaplaine, by our celebrated countryman, Mr. Leslie, has been delayed in consequence of a want of necessary materials. As soon as these are obtained, the picture will be undertaken.

The engraved portrait of the Governor of Pennsylvania, by Neagle, from a picture by Micholtz, 3 feet seven, by 2 feet 10 inches, will be finished with every dispatch compatible with the most distinguished excellence.

N. B. The paper for the Repository is made at the Brandywine mill of T. Gilpin & Co.

Price of the Repository to subscribers, four dollars—and to non-subscribers, six dollars a half volume, payable on delivery.

Mr. James C. Thomas is appointed agent for the western country.

The proprietor will receive orders for the Repository in various bindings. He has engaged James Crissy to furnish them in the best manner.

Persons desiring to order are requested to pay for the work without payment first being made.

List of Agents for the Repository.

George J. Patten, esq. Hartford; R. P. & C. Williams, Boston; Charles Whipple, Newburyport; Henry Whipple, Salem; Wm. E. Norman, Hudson; T. & J. Swords, New-York; James Bogert, Geneva; H. Howe, New-Haven; Daniel Fenton, Trenton; Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore; George Richards, Georgetown; Fitzwhyllson & Potter, Richmond; W. F. Gray, Fredericksburg; William Owens, M. D. Lynchburg; John Hoff, Charleston; George Phillips, Carlisle; S. Drum, jr. Postmaster, Greensburg; James Clark, Somerset; William Eichbaum, jr. Pittsburg; Col. James Johnson, Postmaster, Great-Crossing, Kentucky; James W. Palmer, Lexington; Perry & Co., Cincinnati; Butler & Wood, Frankford; James Turnbull, Steubenville.